



POPE ALEXANDER.

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THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL,
AND EXPLANATORY.

By T. FRANCKLIN, D.D.
Chaplain to his Majesty, and late Greek Professor in
the University of Cambridge.

T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
AND OTHERS.

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THE
PROSE WORKS

OF

Mr. DE VOLTAIRE.

V O L, XVII.

PROSE WORKS

MR. DE VOLT WINE

VOL. XVII

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A N N A L S
OF THE
E M P I R E
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

CHARLES V.

1543.
ON the 26th of August is completed at Nuremberg that transaction of the duke of Lorrain with the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent sovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the Imperial chamber two-thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the mean time, there is published a new league against Francis I. between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they re-unite. That very Henry VIII. whose excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himself to him who was thought to be his irreconcil-

able enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and possesses himself of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves asks him pardon upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce the sovereignty of the duchy of Gueldres, and gives him the investiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, although a free town, the empire and France had wrangled. No sooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to bear down France, but Francis I. calls the Turks to his assistance a second time. Cheredin, their admiral, comes with gallies to Marseilles. He goes to the siege of Nice with the count d'Enguien: he takes that town, but the castle is succoured by the Imperialists, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This descent of the Turks was not very memorable, because they had been armed in the name of the most Christian king.

At the same time that Charles V. makes war against France and Picardy in Piedmont, and in Roussillon; while he treats with the pope and the Protestants; while he presses Germany to secure him from the Turkish invasions; he wages war against the king of Denmark.

Christiern II. kept in prison by those who had been formerly his subjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer possessed, and which were elective. Gustavus Vasa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holstein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark, by name Christiern III. who attacked the emperor in Holland with a fleet of forty ships; but

but a peace is soon clapt up. This Christiern III. renews with his two brothers, John and Adolphus, the ancient treaty, relating to the duchies of Holstein and of Schleswick. John and Adolphus, and their descendants, were to possess these duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles assembles at that time a great diet at Spire; at which Ferdinand his brother, and all the electors and princes, as well Catholic as Protestants, are present. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand succours against the Turks and against the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the Enemy of God. The king of France intends to send ambassadors to this great diet. He dispatches a herald to procure him a passport, and they put his herald in prison.

The diet grant him subsidies and troops; but these only for six months. They consist of but four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot: but a feeble assistance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this succour without doing much in favour of the Lutherans. He gains an important point by obtaining in this diet, that the imperial chamber of Spire shall be made up of one half Lutherans and the other half Catholics, of which the pope loudly, but vainly complains *.

The

* Father Barre, author of a large history of Germany, puts these words into the mouth of Charles V. "The pope is happy in that the princes of the league of Smalcald did not propose my becoming a Protestant. In that case I know not what I should have done. It is well known

The old admiral Barbarossa, who had passed the winter at Toulon and Marseilles, again cruises on the coast of Italy, and carries off his gallies, loaden with plunder and slaves, to Constantinople, where he finished a career that had been a long time fatal to Christianity.

The king of France gathered a less odious and more honourable success from the battle of Cerisoles, which count d'Enguien gained in Piedmont over the marquis Del Vasto, a famous general of the emperor, on the 11th of April; yet this victory could not open a passage to the French in the Milanese, while the emperor penetrates to Soissons, and menaces Paris.

Henry VIII. is, for his part, in Picardy. Notwithstanding the battle of Cerisoles, France is in more danger than ever. Nevertheless, by one of those mysteries, which history can scarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed, but the mistrusts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England. This

that this was the emperor Joseph's answer to Clement XI. when he complained of his condescensions to Charles XII. Father Barre is not satisfied with imputing to Charles V. this discourse, which he never held; but he has also inserted in his book a great number of facts and discourses, taken word for word from the history of Charles XII. He has copied above one hundred pages. It is not impossible that they may have said and acted in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, exactly as in the eighteenth; but it is not at all likely. There was a necessity for making this note, because journalists having perhaps seen, in the history of Charles XII. and that of Germany, so many accounts absolutely alike, might have accused the writer of Charles the XIIth's Life of plagiarism; never considering that the latter historian had written twenty years before the former.

peace

peace is concluded on the 18th of September, at Crepi. This treaty imports, that the duke of Orleans, second son of the king of France, shall espouse a daughter, either of the emperor or the king of the Romans; and that he shall have the Milanese, or the Low Countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles, in parting with the Milanese, bestows only a fief of the empire; but in giving up the Low Countries, he strips his son of his inheritance.

As for the king of England, his conquests are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preserved from every attempt.

1545.

The council of Trent opens in the month of April. The Protestants declare, that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry, duke of Brunswick, stripped, as we have seen, of his possessions by the league of Smalcald, repossesses them by the assistance of his brother the archbishop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and sword.

Philip the famous landgrave of Hesse, and Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of George, reduce him to the last extremities. He surrenders to these princes at discretion, marching bare-headed, together with his son Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments these dangerous victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As soon as the council meets, Paul III. with the consent of the emperor, gives, in the most solemn manner, the investiture of Parma and Placentia to his eldest son Peter Lewis Farnese, whose son Octavius had already married the

widow of Alexander de Medicis, who was Charles V's bastard. This coronation of a pope's bastard made a strange contrast with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector Palatine made use of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies soon after at Eislaben on the 18th of February, 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the satisfaction of withdrawing one half of Europe from the Roman church, and he esteemed this glory beyond any that conquest can bestow.

1546.

The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low Countries or the Milanese, removes one uneasiness of Charles; however he had others that were very sufficient: the Protestant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was scarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other, they did not openly disavow his authority; but then they respected it as little as if it had been entirely abolished among the Protestant princes.

These princes shew their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They send ambassadors to these two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favours the league of Smalcald.

Lutheranism had made such a progress, that the elector of Cologne, Herman de Neuvid, a though an archbishop, introduced it in his territories, and waited only a fair opportunity to secularise both himself and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his

his archbishoprick. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleased; but it was not so easy for him to deprive a prince of the empire of his dominions; to that Germany must consent. The pope in vain orders, that they should acknowledge Adolphus de Schawembourg the archbishop's coadjutor, but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him to the end that he should give no assistance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Herman is at length deposed, and Schawembourg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunswick, who is detained prisoner by the landgrave of Hesse. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, joins with John of Brunswick, the prisoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and underhand assists them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles, no longer able to dissemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III. about 10,000 foot, and five hundred light horse, for six months, paying 200,000 Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one half of one year's revenue belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices in Spain, and to alienate monasterial possessions to the amount of 500,000 crowns. He durst not have demanded the same concessions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbours, and many churches would have rather secularised themselves than have submitted to pay.

The

The Protestants are already masters of all the passes of the Tirolese, and extend themselves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony, John Frederick, and Philip landgrave of Hesse, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the house of Brunswick, and his four sons, three princes of Anhalt, and George of Wirtemberg, uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army. The counts of Oldenburg, of Mansfield, of Oettingen, of Henneberg, of Furstemberg, and many other princes, are seen at the head of their troops. The towns of Ulric, of Strasburg, of Norlinguen, and of Augsburg, send out their forces also. There are eight regiments of Swiss Protestants. This army consisted of more than 60,000 foot, and 15,000 horse.

The emperor, who had but very few troops, nevertheless acts as master, and puts the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire, at Ratisbon, on the 18th of July. He has soon an army strong enough to support his edict. The 10,000 Italians sent by the pope arrive; 6000 Spaniards, being his old regiments from the Milanese and from Naples, join themselves to his Germans; but, though he ought to have three nations armed, he had not as yet an army equal to that of the league, when reinforced by the soldiery of the elector Palatine.

There are several slight skirmishes; several posts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken and retaken.

The emperor is preserved by a Protestant prince. Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinsman to the landgrave of Hesse; the

the same to whom the landgrave and elector of Saxony had preserved his dominions, and whose tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to these his neighbours, and sides with the emperor, who promises not to molest him in his religion of Lutheranism; and this assurance serves him as a pretext for his conduct to his subjects.

He assembles 10,000 foot and 3000 horse; makes a diversion in Saxony; defeats the elector's troops; and is the first cause of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France sends them 200,000 crowns. This was enough to keep discord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Most of the towns of Franconia surrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector Palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himself at Charles's feet, and asks his pardon. Almost all the country as far as Hesse-Cassel is subdued.

Then pope Paul III. withdraws his 10,000 men, for whose service he had only articulated six months. He fears assisting the emperor too much, even against the Protestants. Charles is not much weakened by this loss. The death of the king of England, Henry VIII. happens on the 28th of January; and a disorder, which at the same time hastens the dissolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

1547.

Charles easily succeeds in detaching the old duke of Wirtemberg from the league. He was so irritated at the revolts to which religion had given a pretext, that he attempted establishing

at

at Naples an inquisition of the same sort with that so long settled in Spain ; but this tribunal is no sooner set up there than it is abolished, having caused a most violent sedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to assist him in suppressing the league of Smalcald, than to persist in forcing upon them an inquisition, from whence he could reap no advantage.

The league seems almost destroyed by the submission of the Palatinate and of Wirtemberg, but acquires new strength from the junction of the citizens of Prague, and several of the cantons of Bohemia, who revolt against their sovereign Ferdinand, and go to succour the confederates, Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, surnamed Alcides, of whom we have often spoken, was in reality for the emperor ; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken prisoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompence the loss of the elector of Brandenburg, John the Severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favour of the head of the empire, and assists Ferdinand against the Bohemians.

All things were in confusion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor passes the Elbe with a very strong army near Mulberg, accompanied by her brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked on the 24th of April. This battle of Mulberg was decisive ; and it is affirmed, that in it there were but forty men killed on the side of the
the

the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony, being wounded, is taken prisoner, with the young prince Ernest of Brunswick. On the 12th of May, Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva presided at this trial. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with prince Ernest of Brunswick.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce, for himself and his children, the electoral dignity in favour of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependencies, having first demolished the fortress. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of 50,000 golden crowns yearly, and to advance him 100,000 at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those that had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick, were set at liberty; but the elector remains still the prisoner of Charles.

His wife Sibilla, sister to the duke of Cleves, throws herself at the emperor's feet, all bathed in tears, to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally; that he comes to embrace the knees of the emperor; that he razes all his fortresses, except Cassel or Zingenheim;

Zingenheim; paying besides 150,000 golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise, under their hands, to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice either by him or his children; and, in case of failure, to undergo such treatment as the emperor shall think breach of faith deserves.

Upon these assurances the landgrave submits to every thing. Granvel bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, settles the conditions, which Philip signed. We have been always assured, that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expressly stipulated, that he should not be detained a prisoner in coming to ask the emperor's pardon. Granvel writ, that he should not *always* be detained a prisoner. There needed but a *u* in the place of an *n* to cause this strange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einiger gefängnis*, and Granvel writ: *eiwiger*.

The landgrave was remiss in revising the treaty: he imagined it was as it ought to have been; confiding in which, he went and threw himself at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in safety, he was arrested, and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror seized upon all the artillery of John Frederick, elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and also of the duke of Wertemberg. He confiscated the possessions of many of the chiefs of the party: he imposed taxes

taxes on all those whom he had vanquished, not excepting the towns that had only assisted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raised 1,600,000 golden crowns.

Ferdinand king of the Romans, on his part, punishes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual imprisonment. The taxes and confiscations were immense: these never fail to have a considerable part in the vengeance of sovereigns.

The council of Trent was dispersed during these troubles. The pope inclines to transfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the league, but not the Protestant religion. Those of that communion demand in the diet of Augsburg, that the Protestant divines shall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The emperor was more dissatisfied with the pope than with the Protestant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the church in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the investiture of it to his bastard son, when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when dissatisfied, he recollected that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milanese, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the investiture. Pope Paul III. alarmed at the power of Charles V. negotiates against him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In

In these circumstances the son of the pope, become odious for his crimes all over Italy, was assassinated by the conspirators. The emperor then possesses himself of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithstanding his parental tenderness for Margaret his daughter.

1548.

The emperor quarrels with the pope, and favours the Protestants a little more. He had always designed the council to be in some German town, and pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added fresh fuel to the quarrel subsisting on account of Placentia. On the one side, the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the Protestants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the spiritual arms employed by the pope in favour of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himself in some measure the head of religion in Germany.

On the 15th of May the grand Interim was published in the diet of Augsburg. This was a formulary of faith and discipline; the tenets were Catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the priests. Many indifferent ceremonies were sacrificed to the Lutherans, to engage them to receive such things as were more essential.

This regulation was very reasonable; therefore it contented no body. The people were too unsettled; both the Papists and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives, that to win battles is easier than to govern opinions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, in order
to

to oblige him, in vain endeavours to have the new form received in his dominions ; but the Protestant ministers were stronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector Palatine receive the Interim. The landgrave of Hesse submits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheless deceived.

John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony, although a prisoner, refuses to sign it. His example is followed by many princes and several towns. The clergy in general cry out against the peace presented them by the Interim.

The emperor contents himself with threatening them ; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he decrees by the diet that the council should return to Trent, and charges himself with the care of transferring it.

The Low Countries are in this diet put under the care of the Germanic body : they are declared free from the taxes which the states were to pay the empire, and from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, though included in the tenth circle : they are not obliged to be any way serviceable to the empire ; but in case of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. These rules were subscribed by Charles V. on the 26th of June. The people of Valois are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes, from which they are at this day exempt, because they are known to have become free.

The city of Constance does not receive the Interim until it is put under the ban of the empire.

The

The city of Straßburg prevails so far as to procure the Interim to take place in that district with respect only to the Catholic churches, and that Lutheranism shall be publicly professed.

Christian III. king of Denmark, receives the investiture of the duchy of Holstein, in common with his brothers John and Adolphus, by the hands of his ambassadors.

Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, espouses Mary his cousin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid the latter end of September, and Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is notwithstanding governed by a council named by Charles V.

1549.

The emperor, retired to Brussels, causes the provinces of Flanders, Hainalt, and the Artois, to do homage to his eldest son Philip.

The council of Trent is still divided. There were some few prelates there in the emperor's interest. The pope had called together some others at Bologna. A schism was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the house of Bentivoglio should, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had dispossessed them. He dissolves the council of Bologna.

Octavio Farnese, kinsman to Charles V. and grandson to Paul III. has equal cause to complain of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grandfather keeps him out of Parma, because he had a dispute with the emperor. He attempts, however,

ever, to seize upon Parma without success. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor : but ought not they who advanced this, to remember adding, that he was 81 years of age ?

1550.

The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, so that the empire was not at all disturbed by the Turks. The Persians preserve Austria, but the Turks remain still masters of the greatest part of Hungary.

Henry II. king of France, seems very easy: The affairs of the council, and those of Placentia gave considerable uneasiness to the new pope, Julius III. The emperor has the better in the Interim, which is still the occasion of vexation in Germany. What must people think to see men so little scrupulous as Paul III. Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion !

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war against the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns these two towns, and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence. Maurice justifies the ambition which had stripped his tutor and his kinsman of the electorate of Saxony by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honour lost by the imprisonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse ; who, notwithstanding his security and that of the elector of Brandenburg, was still detained a captive. These two princes press the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the singular resolution

tion of freeing them from their promise. The landgrave endeavours to escape, which cost some of his domestics their heads.

The elector of Saxony, thus dissatisfied with Charles V. is in no great haste to fight for an emperor whose power all the princes felt so despotic. He does nothing against Magdeburg: he lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take prisoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate: he had too much reason to be sorry for it: it was Maurice's intention to make himself head of the Protestant party, and to engage in his interests several towns as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of this new-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon these principles, he already treats with Henry II. and a new storm is brewing in the empire.

1551.

Charles V. whom one would have imagined in the fulness of power, was nevertheless prodigiously embarrassed. The Protestant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be destroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, exhibited the prospect of an approaching war. The Turks were still in Hungary; and in Bohemia, almost every-body revolted against his brother Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he should give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans, and his claim of succeeding to the empire, in favour of his son Philip. Paternal tenderness might have suggested this design; but it is cer-
tain,

tain, that the imperial authority stood in need of a chief, who, being master of Spain and of the new world, had been also sufficiently powerful to control at the same time his enemies and the princes of the empire. It is also certain that the princes saw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and submitted, not without difficulty, to the emperor's views. They contributed only to incense Ferdinand, and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands his deposition of the electors, and requires their votes in favour of his son. He reaps nothing from this undertaking, but the mortification of being refused, and of seeing the elector Palatine, with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg, openly oppose his designs.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon condition, that though he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he subdued it for himself. The same ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony, at the hands of Charles V. now spurred him on to unite against that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Frederick the count Palatine, Christopher duke of Wirtemberg, Ernest marquis of Baden-Dourlach, and several other princes. This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II. king of France, a young enterprising prince, joins the league. He was to furnish 240,000 crowns during the three first months of the war, and 60,000 each month following. He makes himself master of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the empire; a singular

fort of title, which he then assumed for a pretext, as if he had been really one.

The king of France already laid hold of the affair of Parma, as a sufficient cause for carrying the war into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things, that it was he who should have protected Octavio Farnese against the emperor his father-in-law: but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing un essayed towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan, to which his predecessors had always pretensions.

Henry also unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I. and the admiral Dragut, a man not less formidable than Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, had been, made a descent upon the coast of Sicily, and pillaged the town of Augusta.

The army of Solyman at the same time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only person who took the part of Charles V. with whom they united against his kinsman Octavio Farnese; though at bottom, the interests and pretensions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of sovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French also carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the same time, obliged to oppose a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one half of Germany leagued and armed against him, and a king of France, young, rich, and well served, impatient to signalize himself, and to repair the misfortunes of his predecessors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by interest and danger. They have at length some success in Hungary.

Ferdi-

Ferdinand was at the same time happy enough to get Transilvania. The widow of John Zapoly, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, governed Transilvania, in the name of her son Stephen Sigismund, under the protection of the Turks; a protection so very tyrannical, that she was weary of it. She is induced by Martinusius bishop of Waradin, afterwards cardinal, to exchange Transilvania with Ferdinand, for some possessions in Silesia, such as Opelen and Ratibor. Never did queen make so bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinusius vaivode of Transilvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name, with authority and courage. He puts himself at the head of the Transilvanians to march against the Turks, whom he assists the Imperialists to repel. But Ferdinand beginning to mistrust him, causes him to be assassinated by Palavicini in the castle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time, too closely connected with the emperor, to dare enquiring into the cause of this assassination; however, he excommunicated Frederick the year following. An excommunication productive of neither noise nor effect: It is one of those which have been often called *brutum fulmen*. It was nevertheless put in practice, when such men as spake in the name of the Divinity, imagined they have a right in his name, to set themselves above such sovereigns as abused their power to excess; but those who judge of kings ought themselves to be irreprehensible.

1552.

Maurice the elector of Saxony, throws off his mask, and publishes a manifesto, declaring

B 2

him-

himself allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederick, the very man whom he had dispossessed, the enlargement of landgrave of Hesse, and for the support of his religion.

He is joined by Joachim elector of Brandenburg. William, son of the imprisoned landgrave of Hesse, Henry Otho elector Palatine, and Albert of Mecklenburg are up in arms, before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tirol, and drive out the few Imperialists who possessed them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken prisoners, and save themselves by a very disorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a prisoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refused to accept it * is almost unaccountable. Perhaps, if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of April the king of France seizes upon Verdun, Toul, and Metz. He takes Haguenau and Wissemburgh. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburgh and possesses himself of several towns.

To add to the emperor's disgraces, he is informed in his flight, that the pope had abandon-

* The elector Maurice, while Ferdinand was amused with a negotiation, forced the passes of the vallies that lead to Inspruck, took the castle of Eremberg by assault, and had well nigh seized the person of the emperor, who fled with precipitation in the night, being conveyed in a litter during a severe fit of the gout, having no other attendants but his brother Ferdinand and John Frederick of Saxony, to whom he granted his liberty on this occasion.

ed his interest, and declared himself neuter between France and him. It was about this time his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honour, that these censures were not passed at a time when they seemed the effects of politics.

In the midst of these troubles, the fathers of the council withdraw themselves from Trent, and the council is again suspended.

In these unhappy times, all Germany is a prey to devastation. Albert of Brandenburg plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nuremberg, Weitzberg, and many towns of Suabia. The confederates destroy by fire and sword the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spire, and lay siege to Frankfort.

In the mean time, the emperor having retired to Passau, and assembled an army after so many disgraces, brings the confederates into measures. A peace is concluded on the 12th of August. By this renowned peace of Passau, he grants a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him, since the year 1546. The protestants not only obtain a free exercise of their religion, but are also admitted into the imperial chamber, whence, after the victory of Mulberg, they had been excluded. It is some matter of surprize, that the liberty of the landgrave of Hesse was not included in this treaty, he remaining still confined in the fort of Rheinfeld, until he should give security for his fidelity. Nor is it less wonderful, that nothing was stipulated in favour of John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor nevertheless, in a short time

after, sets this unfortunate prince at liberty, and permits him to return into Thuringia, of which he was still master.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels, and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads 16,000 men into Hungary; notwithstanding which assistance, Ferdinand finds it impossible to keep possession of Upper Hungary, without submitting to the states, and paying an annual tribute of 20,000 golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapless year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat, and Parma, were over-run with French troops, and more powerful invasions were to be feared in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infests all the Italian coasts.

Notwithstanding the taxes imposed upon the Germans after the battle of Mulberg, and the treasures of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vast extent of his territories, his voyages and his wars, absorb them all. He borrows 200,000 golden crowns from the duke of Florence, count de Medicis, and gives him the sovereignty of Piombino and of the Island of Elbe. With his assistance he supports himself in some measure in Italy, and lays siege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburg, the only Protestant prince, who still held out against him, is reconciled, and joins his forces; but the famous Francis duke of Guise, who defended Metz with the flower of the French nobility, obliges them, on the 26th of December, to raise the siege, after having lain 65 days before the town.

Charles

Charles loses in this undertaking, more than one third of his army.

1553.

Charles, to revenge himself of the insult that had been offered him at Metz, sends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay siege to Terrouane, which town is taken and destroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who soon became one of the greatest generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Hesdin, which is razed to the ground, in the same manner as Terrouane. But the duke of Arscot, who commanded a considerable body of troops, suffers himself to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a stand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the same situation; nor are those of Germany settled. The restless Albert of Brandenburg, called Alcibiades, still heads a body of troops that subsist only by pillage. He ravages the dominions of Henry of Brunswick, and of Maurice of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildesheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himself killed. This prince, though but thirty-two years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander, and a great politician. He is succeeded by his brother Augustus.

Albert, the Alcibiades, still continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceed against him; notwithstanding which he continues his depredations; but at length wanting men and money, takes refuge in France. The emperor, better to secure that prodigious power, which had received so many additions and diminutions,

concludes the marriage of his son Philip with Mary queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Arragon.

Though the parliament of England made it an additional clause in the marriage-contract, that the alliance between England and France should still subsist, Charles had nevertheless hopes, and those not ill-grounded, that this alliance would be soon broken. It was in reality to arm England against France, that he gave that kingdom to his son as a sovereign; and had Mary had children, the house of Austria would have seen all the states of Europe from the Baltic sea, France excepted, subservient to its laws.

1554.

Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his son Philip, before that prince embarks for England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary his spouse, in the same manner as king William has since been crowned with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is still carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with various success, but still in a sort of æquilibrium.

The troops of France still remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, though their number was inconsiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the Milanese very numerous. It seemed as if they were drained on both sides.

Cosmo, duke of Florence, takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Sienna, apprehensive of falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medequino marquis of

Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies, on the 2d of August. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Cosmo instituted the order distinguished by the name of this saint.

1555.

Ernest count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near getting possession of the town of Mentz, by the intrigues of a Franciscan friar, though the emperor had not been able to subdue it with 50,000 men. This friar's name was Leonard; he was keeper of a convent, had been confessor to the duke of Guise, and was greatly respected in the town. Through his means, for several days, many German, Spanish, and Italian veterans, entered the town disguised like Franciscan friars, under pretence of a general chapter, which was soon to be held therein.

The conspiracy was discovered by a Carthusian; father Leonard is arrested, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are satisfied with making eighteen Franciscan friars assist at the gibbeting him.

The ancient papal policy, revives under pope Paul IV. of the house of Caraffa. This policy, as has been seen in the course of this work, was always to prevent the emperor from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope seems to have forgotten the council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese, with the assistance of France, to procure, if possible, these principalities for his nephews.

phews. In case that Henry II. shall furnish new troops, he engages to join them with 10,000 men.

The war begins to grow more spirited than ever. Charles saw it impossible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of such a variety of affairs became painful to him. He had for a long time borne a principal part in all the transactions of Europe. He resolves to finish his course by the most singular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce so many sovereignties, that he might seclude himself in a monastery, he confirms the liberty of the Protestants in the diet of Augsbourg. He gives up to them the ecclesiastical revenues upon which they had seized; and, on their account, the form of oath administered to the counsellors of the imperial chamber is changed to swearing by the gospel, instead of by the saints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mulberg give way to necessity, and on the eve of assuming the monkish cowl, acts like a philosopher.

On the 24th of November, he surrenders the Low Countries to his son Philip, in presence of the states assembled at Brussels, and Spain, and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on the tenth of the ensuing January.

He pardons his kinsman Octavio Farnese, giving up to him Placentia and the Novarese, after which he prepares himself to surrender the empire to his brother the king of the Romans.

1559.

All things disgusted him, The Turks were
masters.

masters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and troublesome to the rest. The Transylvanians bore impatiently their yoke. Protestantism spread itself in Austria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to divest him of so many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet master of a soul free from illusion, not being able to cede the empire to his son, he gives it up to his brother, demanding previously the consent of the holy see; he who certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himself.

Pope Paul III. abuses the submission of Charles V. by sending him a refusal. This pontiff was extremely well satisfied to see him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the same time.

Charles V. without consulting the pope any more, sends his abdication to Brussels on the 17th of September 1556, and in the 36th year of his reign*.

The prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial scepter to Ferdinand. Charles soon after embarks for Spain, and shuts himself up at Estremadura, in the monastery of St. Justus, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion, that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely upon human weakness, which believes it impossible to quit without regret that which is so furiously envied by the world. Charles absolutely no more thought of that theatre, on

* He reserved to himself no more than a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of Spain.

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which he had played so considerable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the ecclesiastical electors neither to accept of the dismissal of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his business to sow the seeds of discord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new strength; and in truth, all the acts of the empire were published in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any historian.



F E R D I N A N D I.

FORTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1557.

THE abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The house of Austria, divided into two branches, is as yet the most considerable in Europe; but the Spanish branch, far superior to the other, intirely ingrosed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer permits the Spanish, Italian, and Flemish troops to contribute to the imperial greatness.

Ferdinand has very large possessions in Germany; but the Upper Hungary, which is his, scarcely affords him sufficiency to maintain such troops as were necessary to make head against the Turks. The Bohemians seemed to bear their yoke with regret, and in is impossible for
Ferdin-

Ferdinand to be powerful, independent of the empire.

The first year of his reign is distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion, by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were chosen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmstadt to Philip landgrave of Hesse, and the county of Diatz to William of Nassau.

This year is marked by a sort of war, waged by an archbishop of Bremen, of the house of Brunswic against Friezeland. And here is evinced the vast utility of the wise institution of circles, and of directors of circles, set on foot by Frederick III. and Maximilian. The assembly of the circle of Lower Saxony re-establishes peace.

At length, on the 28th of February, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the sway of his brother at Francfort. An embassy is sent to the pope, which he refuses to receive, still pretending Ferdinand not to be emperor. The ambassadors protest, and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the less acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleswic is still acknowledged independent of the empire.

1558.

On the 21st of September 1558, happens that great event Charles the Vth's death. It is well known, that through a whimsical sort of devotion, a short time before his last illness, he caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting as a mourner; nay, that he was stretch-

ed.

ed upon the bier in the middle of the church of St. Justus, while they sung *de profundis*. In this last action of his life he seemed to have possessed a little of the spirit of Johanna his mother, and yet upon a throne he had always conducted himself like a politician, a hero, and a man not insensible to his pleasures. How many contrarieties united in his disposition! who, though possessed of more than monkish devotion, was supposed at his death to hold several of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will not human weakness and extravagance extend! Maximilian would willingly be pope. Charles V. though he died a monk, yet at his death is suspected of heresy*.

Since the funeral rites of Alexander, nothing had been so superb as the obsequies of Charles the V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Brussels they cost 70,000 ducats. Expences noble as these, contribute to illustrate the memory of a great man, while they employ and encourage arts: yet more durable monuments ought to have been raised than a show, transitory like this, which is certainly far from being sufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

1559.

Ferdinand holds a diet at Augsberg, in which the ambassadors of Henry II. king of France are introduced. France had just made peace at Chateau-Cambresis with Philip II. king of Spain. The French by this peace preserved in

* In his last moments he received the eucharist in both species; a circumstance which induced many people to believe he favoured the Protestant religion.

Italy only Turin, and some other towns which they afterwards gave up; but they kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which the emperor might have demanded, yet they are hardly spoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambassadors, that while France keeps possession of these three towns, it will be extremely hard for a good understanding to subsist between France and Germany.

The new pope Pius IV. is not so inflexible as Paul IV. but soon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

1560.

On the 29th of November the council of Trent, after having been so long suspended, is at length re-established by a bull of Pius IV. He gives notice of the assembling this council to all sovereigns; he even signifies it to the Protestant princes of Germany. But as the address of his letters was "To our most dear Son," those who did not chuse to acknowledge themselves children of the pope, send back his letter un-opened.

1561.

Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time masters of this province under the imperial protection. But these knights, unable to resist the Muscovites, and receiving no succours from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigismund king of Poland confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler.

The

The meetings of the council of Trent begin.
1562.

The ambassador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are maintained in possession of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the first things discussed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the seculars. The decree barely imports, that the church has very just reasons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers shall conduct themselves in this affair, intirely by the judgment of the pope, which shall be to them decisive.

On the 24th of November, the electors at Frankfort unanimously declare Maximilian son of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors assist personally in their several functions at this ceremony, according to the tenor of the golden bull. This solemnity was rendered the more glorious by the presence of an ambassador from Solyman, who signs a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of the Austrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not so terrible as he has been. Nevertheless, this peace was of no long duration; but was made at the time when the body of the empire was easy and happy.

1563.

This year is memorable for the dissolution of the council of Trent. This long council, which was the last general one, neither served to soften nor subdue the enemies of the Roman church. They published some edicts concerning discipline, which were scarcely admitted in
any

any catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The council of Basil had rent the church and set up an anti-pope. That of Constance kindled the fires of persecution, and was the cause of thirty years war. That of Lyons deposed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran stripped count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouse, and Gregory VII. by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, set all things in a flame: The fourth council of Constantinople, which was held against Photius in the time of Charles the Bald, was a scene of many disputes. The second of Nicea, under Ireneus, was still more tumultuous and more disturbed by the disputes about images. The disputes of the Monothelites were very near making the third council of Constantinople a very bloody one. It is well known, that great divisions actuated the councils held on account of Arius. The council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with moderation.

1564.

On the 25th of July, Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his last moments, scattered afar the seeds of that war, which disturbed Europe almost 200 years after.

This famous testament of 1543, appoints, in case of the failure of the male issue of either Ferdinand or Charles V. that the Austrian territories shall revert to his daughter Anne and her issue. She was the second daughter to Ferdinand, and wife to Albert II. duke of Bavaria.

This

This foreseen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences would have been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage-contract of his daughter, had been more clearly expressed.

It may be remarked, that this Anne duchess of Bavaria assumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage-contract, as well as the rest of her sisters. They might indeed have called her queen without her being one, as she was called archduchess without possessing any archduchy. However, this custom was not followed.

Ferdinand, besides, by his last will, left Hungary, Bohemia, and the Upper and Lower Austria, to his son Maximilian king of the Romans.

To his second son Ferdinand, he bequeathed Tirol and the Anterior Austria.

To Charles, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his possessions in Istria.

The Austrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire, which still remained in that house, was the standard to which all the princes of that house re-united.

Ferdinand was neither crowned in Lombardy nor Rome. The inutility of these ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more essential for the two principal branches of the imperial house, Spain and Austria, to hold a good intelligence with each other. It is that which renders Italy submissive, and brings the holy see to a dependence upon that house.

M A X I M I L I A N II.

FORTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1564.

THE empire, as we have already seen, without ceasing to be elective, becomes hereditary. The emperors since the time of Charles V. desist from crossing the Alps, to seek either an iron crown, or one of gold. The power of most weight in Italy, was that of Philip II. who, though at the same time a vassal to the empire and to the holy see, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world; the first gleanings of which, and no more, his father had possessed, but he enjoyed its real sweets.

The empire under Maximilian II. as under Ferdinand I. was certainly Germany, paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy being in the hands of Philip II. belonged rather to an ally than a vassal. Hungary became a dominion of the house of Austria, a dominion that incessantly opposed the Turks, and was as it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian, in the first year of his reign, is obliged, as his father and grandfather had been before, to carry on a war against Solyman.

This Sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Transilvania furnished him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary vaivode, and John Sigismund, son to that queen
of

44 M A X I M I L I A N II.

of Hungary, who had ceded her rights for some villages in Silesia, had put his hereditary dominions under the sultan's protection, chusing rather to be a sovereign and tributary to the Turks, than a simple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary; and, in the month of January, Maximilian's generals take Tokai. Augustus, elector of Saxony, is the only prince who assists the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, were bent upon strengthening themselves. Religion at that time ingrossed the attention of the people more than it had ever divided them. The greatest part of the Catholics in Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the council of Trent, stipulate barely, that they shall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the priests, who, before the breaking up of the council of Trent, had been permitted to marry, desire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers these two requests to the pope. Pope Pius IV. to whom the council had left the decision of the sacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they please, but refuses leave to the priests to marry; besides, the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

1565.

A treaty is made with the Turks, who still remain masters of Buda, and the prince of Transilvania continues under their protection.

Solyman sends Bacha Mustapha to besiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this siege,

sege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired *.

1566.

Notwithstanding the weakness of the imperial power ever since the treaty of Passau, the legislative authority was still vested in the emperor; and was pretty effectual when the princes, with whom it had to deal, were not too powerful.

Maximilian II. employs this authority against John Albert duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric his brother; each of whom pretends to equal rights upon the town of Rostock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themselves to be exempt, whom the two brothers make war upon, and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commission.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occasion to demand in the diet of Augsbuurg more powerful succours than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The diet orders soldiers to be raised for him, and grant him the *Roman Months* for three years; a thing that they had never done before.

* Solyman himself expired two days before the town was taken: he had invested the place with an army of two hundred thousand men, and Maximilian advanced at the head of one hundred thousand men to its relief, but had not courage enough to give the enemy battle. Count Zerine, governor of the town, made a glorious defence, until all the fortifications were ruined; then made a desperate sally with three hundred men, all of whom were cut in pieces; so that the town surrendered of course.

Count Serini, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand set the town on fire. The grand visier sends his head to Maximilian with this message: That he ought to have hazarded his own head in coming to the defence of that town, since he had under his command 120,000 men.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to stop the progress of the Turks.

The ill success of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the states of Austria and Bohemia to support their demand of the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsburg.

About this time begin the troubles of the Low Countries, and Calvinism had already set France in a flame: but Maximilian, more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, absolutely refused his subjects liberty of conscience; and his army, which had done him but little service against the Turks, maintains him in tranquillity at home.

1567.

This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the ancient branch of the electoral house of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate.

This electorate, given, as we have seen, to the younger branch, ought to have been an object of the elder's regret. A gentleman, named Groumbach, who was proscribed with many of his accomplices for divers crimes, retired to Gotha, the residence of John Frederick, son to him from whom the duchy and electorate of Saxony

Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mulberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himself upon Augustus, elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the prosecution against Groumbach into execution was committed. He had associated himself with several villains, together with whom he subsisted upon robbery and pillage, and in concert with these he sets on foot a design of assassinating the elector. One of the conspirators being taken at Dresden, confesses the plot. The elector Augustus marches his troops under an imperial commission to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with several soldiers, resolutely determined to share his fortune, be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town, but are at length forced to surrender. The duke John Frederick, as unfortunate as his father, is arrested, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are instantly executed.

1568.

The troubles of the Low Countries increase. William the Silent, prince of Orange, now head of a party who founded the republic of the United Provinces, applies himself to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low Countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire; and in effect the emperor sends his brother Charles of Austria, archduke of Gratz, into Spain to soften Philip II. but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain, nor

nor hinder most of the Protestant princes of Germany from assisting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alba, that bloody governor of the Low Countries, presses the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the supreme jurisdiction of the Low Countries being vested in the empire, he ought for this purpose to address himself to the imperial diet. Such an answer shewed very sufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arrest.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war upon another party of German troops. It was however natural for him to assist his cousin Philip in this affair; the more so, as he had made peace that very same year with Selim II. successor to the great Solymán. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman Months*.

Yet so far was he from assisting his cousin the king of Spain in the reduction of his subjects in the Low Countries, who demand liberty of conscience, that he appears to disapprove the conduct of Philip in soon after permitting the Austrians to adopt the confession of Augsburg. He afterwards promises the pope to revoke that permission. All these things manifest his authority to be weak, confined, and unstable. It had been said, that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the house of Brandenburg was intirely Protestant. A son of the elector John
George,

George, chosen archbishop of Magdeburg, publicly professed the Protestant religion. A bishop of Verdun does the same. The duke of Brunswick Julius also embraced that religion, his subjects already professing it. The elector Palatine and most of his country profess Protestantism. The catholic religion hardly subsisted any longer in Germany, but with the ecclesiastical electors, the episcopal territories, and in the abbeys, as well as some commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and even there were many Protestants as well as in Bohemia; all these things authorised the liberty Maximilian gave to the Protestant religion in Austria: but there is another stronger reason added; that is, the states of Austria had on this account promised him considerable subsidies.

1569.

In the midst of these wars of religion and politics, behold a dispute founded on vanity. Cosmo II. duke of Florence, and Alphonso duke of Ferrara, contend for precedency. Rank had been settled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the disputes about rank remained still undetermined. These two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis, the hereditary prince of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, had each of them married sisters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration; but pope Pius V. who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory, and the duke of Florence as his ally, hastens to give a new title to Cosmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of Grand Duke, as if the bare word

C

Grand

Grand made some vast addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himself a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making grand dukes but kings. The dispute grows more inflamed: but at length the grand duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

1570.

This year was held the diet of Spire, in which most of the dominions of the unhappy duke of Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are restored to his children. A peace is also there concluded between the emperor and John Sigismund prince of Transilvania, who is acknowledged sovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary; a title vain above all others! since one part of the kingdom was possessed by the French, and the rest belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had so long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, all disputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigismund king of Sweden cedes all his possessions in Livonia to Maximilian, the rest is put under the protection of the king of Denmark: they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muscovites. The town of Lubec is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commercial privileges with Sweden

Sweden and Denmark are confirmed. This town became still more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day despoiling of some town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuses to come into it, fearing to bring the Ottoman forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely through form.

The governor of the Milanese raises troops to enable him to seize upon the marquisate of Final, belonging to the house of Caretto. The Genoese had also an eye upon this spot of ground, and were troublesome to the proprietor of it. France might have assisted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where, in quality of vassal of the empire, he demanded justice; and in the mean time Philip II. seizes upon his dominions, easily finding means of prevailing in the imperial council.

1572.

After the death of Sigismund II. king of Poland, the last of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian underhand makes interest for the throne, which he flatters himself the republic of Poland will offer him by embassy.

The secret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitless; for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of asking for, send no embassy.

1573.

The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected on the first of May, to the great discontent of the Protestant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold so near

them a man stained with blood in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

1574.

The prince of Orange, who supported himself in the Low Countries by his valour and reputation against all the power of Philip II. holds an assembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whither the emperor sends an imperial commissary, apparently to support the majesty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates.

1575.

Maximilian causes his eldest son Rodolphus to be elected king of the Romans in the diet of Ratisbon. Through long customs, apprehension of the Turks, and the convenience of having a chief able to support the imperial dignity by his own power, the possession of the imperial throne became necessarily lodged in the house of Austria.

The princes of the empire were not less masters of their own rights. The elector Palatine furnished troops to the Calvinists of France, while those of the Low Countries were assisted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou king of Poland by the death of Charles IX. he quits Poland as if he fled from a prison; and that throne being consequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himself elected king of Poland on the 15th of December.

But an opposing faction put a most atrocious affront upon Maximilian, proclaiming king,
Stephen

Stephen Battori vaivod of Transilvania, the sultan's vassal ; a man looked upon in the court of Vienna as a rebel and an usurper. The Poles marry him to the sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the blood of the Jagellons.

John, czar of Muscovy, offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The court of Muscovy, unpolished as it was in those days, had nevertheless the same views it has so gloriously manifested in these.

The Ottoman court threatens to side with Stephen Battori against the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the same that they are now.

Maximilian endeavours to engage the empire in his quarrel ; but the Protestants, instead of assisting him to become more powerful, content themselves with soliciting in the diet free liberty for the Protestant noblesse of the ecclesiastical countries publicly to profess the Augsburg confession.

1576.

Maximilian, uncertain of being able to support his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on the 12th of August, aged 49.

R O D O L P H U S II.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1577.

RODOLPHUS, who had been crowned king of the Romans in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than those of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as usual. There were the same manners, the same interest, and the same form of government still prevailed. Rodolphus barely promises, in the first diet held at Frankfort, to conform himself to the regulations of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes proposed the appeasing the disturbances in the Low Countries by curtailing the authority, as well as the severity of Philip II. shewing thereby that the interests of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them; and that they would endeavour, as much as possible, to prevent the eldest branch of Austria from oppressing its vassals, whereby it set an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs.

Such was the spirit of the Germanic body; and it was evident that the emperor Rodolphus was not more absolute than Maximilian, since he could not prevent his brother, the archduke Matthias, from accepting the government of the Low Countries, on account of the confederates, who are armed against Philip II. So that on the one hand is seen Don John of Austria,
natural

natural son to Charles V, governing Flanders in the name of Philip II. and the rebels, headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neuter, while Germany furnishes each side with mercenaries.

Rodolphus is not more disturbed by the irruptions which the Muscovites made at that time in Livonia.

1578.

The Low Countries become a theatre of war, confusion, and politics. Philip II. in having neglected to endeavour the restoration of order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The archduke Matthias, contributing scarcely more than his name to the cause of the confederates, had less power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had not sufficient to send him assistance. The prince Palatine Casimir, tutor to the young elector Frederick IV. who had marched into France with a little army to the assistance of the Protestants, comes with the remainder of this army, and some new troops, to assist theirs and the cause of the revolters in the Low Countries. The brother of Henry III. king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, although a Catholic, was called in to the assistance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavouring each to profit by these disturbances; the archduke, prince Casimir, the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange; the whole four disunited, and Don John of Austria, famous for the battle of Lepanto, singly opposed them all. It is advanced, that this same Don John aspired to the sovereignty. So many troubles sprung from

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Philip's having abused his power, and his not having supported that abuse by his presence.

Without any proof whatsoever, and purely from a desire of rendering him odious, Philip II. is accused of having hastened the death of his brother Don John of Austria, who departed this life on the first of October.

1579.

During the desolation of the Low Countries, and while that great commander Alexander Farnese prince of Parma, successor of Don John, supports the cause of Philip II. and of the Catholic religion, by arms, Rodolphus, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France and Elizabeth queen of England furnish the confederates with men and money, and the emperor assists Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rodolphus was not sufficiently efficacious for his character, nor was he sufficiently powerful from the form which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. absolutely refuses liberty of conscience, and the prince of Orange chuses not to accept of a peace which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

1580.

The prince of Orange had found the secret of resisting Farnese, and to rid himself of the archduke Matthias. This archduke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a pension from the states, which they assign him upon the episcopal revenues of Utrecht.

1581.

Matthias withdraws from the Low Countries, having done nothing but stipulated for his pension,

sion, one half of which they retrench. The states-general, by a public edict, dated July 26, in a legal manner throw off the government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their situation, in respect to Germany, remains undetermined; and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavouring to enslave the nation that he came to defend, is disconcerted and obliged to retire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

1582.

Pope Gregory XIII. having signalized his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the Protestant princes, not only of Germany, but of all Europe, oppose the reception of this necessary reformation. They had no other reason for it, but that of its being Rome that administered this service. They feared making that court appear too respectable, should they receive instructions from it; and that, should the people receive astronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuse its religious ones. The emperor is obliged, in the diet of Augsburg, to appoint the imperial chamber to observe the Julian stile, made in the time of Cæsar, which, though it had been then good, was now bad.

A very extraordinary event disturbs the empire this year. Gebhard de Truchses, archbishop of Cologne, who was no priest, had embraced the confession of Augsburg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes de Mansfield, a nun of the monastery of Guerichen. It was no extraordinary thing for a bishop to marry; but this bishop was an elector: he wanted to es-

pouse his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a secular dignity. It might have happened very easily, that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbishoprick; that the prelate had been at the same time a Lutheran bishop and an elector. At that time the only Catholic electors were the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz and of Triers. The empire seems well nigh falling into the hands of the Protestants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard de Truchses endeavours, without success, to introduce Lutheranism in Cologne. The chapter and senate were much more attached to the Catholic religion, sharing in a great measure the sovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to lose. In effect, the elector, though a sovereign, was far from being absolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magistrates. Soldiers are raised on every side, and the archbishop fights for his mistress with success.

1583.

The Protestant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector Palatine, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, write in his favour to the emperor, to the chapter and senate of Cologne; but proceeded no farther; and as they had no personal interest that should induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at least at present, they do not.

Truchses is only assisted by some petty princes. The archbishop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings some cavalry to his assistance. The count de Solmes and some Lutheran gentlemen

tllemen of Westphalia send him troops in the heat of the dispute. The prince of Parma, on the other hand, sends in his favour to the chapter. A canon of the ancient house of Saxony, which is the same as that of Brunswick, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it is an holy war,

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Rosendale during this petty war. The emperor Rodolphus concerned himself no farther in this affair, than in exhorting the archbishop to quit his church and his electorate; but he determines to preserve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member, and orders the election of a new archbishop. This bull of the pope causes the Protestant princes to rebel; but they only make some motions. Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, of Frisinguen, and Hildesheim, is chosen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince Palatine, Casimir, is the only person who at that time assists the dethroned elector, and even that was for a very short time. The town of Bonn was very soon the only one which Truchses could call his own. The troops which had been sent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay siege to Bonn, which is soon obliged to surrender.

1584.

The old elector still wrestles with his ill fortune: he has some few troops left: these are defeated; and at length, being neither sufficiently able nor happy to arm any considerable

potentates in his favour, he has no other resource but that of retiring to the Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The Catholics in general acknowledge the new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged; but, in truth, at the expence of a tribute; and Rodolphus imagines himself happy enough in being able to purchase peace from Amurath III.

1585.

Led by the example of Gebhard de Truchses, two other bishops renounce their bishopricks; the one is a son of William duke of Cleves, who quits the diocese of Munster that he may be able to marry; the other is the bishop of Minden, of the house of Brunswick.

1586.

Fanaticism does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavoured for through a ten years war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange.

This illustrious founder of the liberty of the United Provinces is assassinated by Balthazar Gerrard, a native of Franche Comté. An attempt of this nature had been before essayed by a Biscayan named Jaurigni; but he was cured of the wound. Salcedo had conspired against his life; and it is observable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the sacrament as preparatives to this action.

Maurice's II's son succeeds him at the age of eighteen. It was he who afterwards became the greatest general in Europe. The Protestant princes of Germany give him no assistance, though

though it was for the interest of their religion; but they send troops into France to the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. because the Calvinist party in France were able to pay their soldiers, and Maurice was not.

1587.

Prince Maurice still continues the war in the Low Countries against Alexander Farnese. He levies some troops among the Protestants of Germany at the expence of the states of Holland. This was all the succour that he could possibly procure.

A new throne offers itself to the house of Austria, which honour contributes to shew still more how very low was the credit of Rodolphus.

Stephen Batori, vaivode of Transilvania and king of Poland, dying on the 13th of December 1586, Fedor, czar of Muscovy, enters the lists to succeed him; but is unanimously rejected. One faction declares for Sigismund king of Sweden, son to John III. by a princess of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperor's brother Maximilian. They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian, being defeated, retires to Silesia while his competitor is crowned.

1588.

Maximilian is a second time defeated by Zamoski, the Polish general: he is shut up in a castle near Lublin, and his brother Rodolphus can do no more for him, than intreat Philip II. to engage pope Sixtus V. to write in favour of the prisoner.

1589.

Maximilian is at last set at liberty, having renounced

renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland: he has an interview with Sigismund before his departure: it is remarkable that the title of majesty was not given him, because in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

1590.

The only event which now regards the empire is the war in the Low Countries, which lays waste the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Westphalia. The circles of these provinces content themselves with complaining of each party. The languid spirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

1591.

Henry IV. who had his kingdom of France to conquer, sends viscount Turenne into Germany to bargain for troops with some of the Protestant princes. The emperor vainly opposes him. Christiern elector of Saxony, influenced by viscount Turenne, supplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France, whereby only an inconsiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material besides happened at this time in Germany.

1592.

A civil war is occasioned by a nomination to the bishoprick of Strasburg, as had very lately happened at Cologne upon a very different account. The people of Strasburg were Protestants: their bishop, who resided at Saverne, and was a Catholic, dies. The Protestants elect John George of Brandenburg, a Lutheran; the Catholics chuse the cardinal of Lorraine. The emperor Rodolphus appoints by commission one
of

of his brothers, the archduke Ferdinand, to appease the difference and conduct the administration. He is acknowledged neither by Catholics nor Protestants. The cardinal of Lorraine supports his right at the head of 10,000 men. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, and of Basil, furnish troops to the Protestant bishop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France, where he had served unsuccessfully Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorraine. This affair is put into arbitration the following year; and in the year 1603, it was at last agreed, that the cardinal of Lorraine should remain bishop of Strasburg, paying 130,000 golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly possible to purchase a bishoprick at a much dearer rate.

1593.

A much more considerable affair rouses the indifference of Rodolphus. Amurath III. breaks the league, and the Turks already lay waste Upper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbishop of Saltzburg are the only persons who as yet furnish the emperor with troops, joining theirs to those that are supplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand, brother of Rodolphus, had by his first wife, who was daughter to a senator of Augsburg, a son named Charles of Austria. This son was never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deserved to be one. A considerable body of troops were under his command. A count, Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which seemed to be ordained to fight successfully for the

the house of Austria. The Serini, the Nadastis, and the Palfis, headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worsted in several engagements, and the Upper Hungary at length secured, Buda excepted, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

1594.

The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rodolphus held a diet at Augsburg to consult upon measures of opposition. Is it credible that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions! This is the first instance of a war being supported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarian troops, though but indifferently paid, still fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias, by his own desire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who, in the name of the emperor his brother, governs Carinthia and Croatia. These cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javarin.

1595.

Happily for the Imperialists, Sigismund Batori, vaivode of Transilvania, shakes off the Turkish for the Imperial yoke. We often see princes change sides, obliged by the necessity of their affairs to attach themselves to the more powerful of two protectors. Batori swears fidelity, and does homage to the emperor for Transilvania and some possessions in Hungary. He agrees, that in case he shall die without male issue, his dominions shall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary, and in return he is promised in marriage to Christina, daughter

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to the archduke Charles, together with the title of Most Illustrious and the order of the Golden Fleece.

The campaign was very happy ; but the church-boxes set up for the payment of the army not being filled, the Imperial troops rise and pillage part of that country which they had been destined to defend.

1596.

The archduke Maximilian commands this year against the Turks. The new sultan, Mahomet III. enters Hungary in person, and lays siege to Agria, which surrenders upon conditions ; but the garrison is massacred going out of the town ; and Mahomet, enraged against the aga of the janizaries, for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be struck off.

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on the 26th of October.

While the emperor Rodolphus remains at Vienna, employed in distillation, chemistry, and searching after the philosopher's stone, while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks, while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatness upon the sluggishness of Rodolphus, one of his brothers, called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have scarce heard any mention, is made governor of such part of the Low Countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government succeeded the archduke Ernest, another of his brothers, who died after having possessed it upwards of two years, without having done any one thing remarkable. Very different was the conduct of cardinal Albert of Austria, who made war upon Henry IV. with

with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever since the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Ardres.

Henry IV. after much difficulty conqueror of the league, seeks the assistance of the Protestant princes, which not obtaining he is forced to defend himself.

1597.

The Turks are still in Hungary. There is a rising of the peasants of Austria, harrassed by the Imperial troops, and thereby they give a helping hand to the desolation of the country. There is a necessity for sending some disciplined troops against them. This was a favourable opportunity for the Turks; but by some strange fatality the Upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progress. The Imperial army this year owes its safety to a revolt of the janissaries.

1598.

The county of Simeren, by the death of the last incumbent, falls to the elector Palatine.

Philip II. king of Spain, dies, aged 72, after a reign of 42 years. He had long disturbed part of Europe, nor had his uncle Ferdinand, his cousin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rodolphus, ever forwarded his designs, neither had he in the least contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death, he had given the Low Countries to the Infanta Isabella, his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal archduke Albert. This was depriving his son Philip III. and the crown of Spain of a most beautiful province. But the troubles, which had wasted it for some time, had rendered it a burdensome possession: however, it was stipu-
lated

lated, that it should revert to the Spanish crown in case of the failure of male issue in the archduke Albert, which happened to be the case.

The driving the Turks out of Upper Hungary, begins to be matter of deliberation. The diet grants towards the support of this war 20 Roman months.

The same Sigismund Batori, who had renounced the Turkish protection, and done homage to the emperor for Transylvania, repents of his proceedings. The same territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Stephen John Sigismund; that is to say, Oppelen, and Ratibor in Silesia, were given him in exchange for his sovereignty and for Walachia. He was as little satisfied with his bargain, as that queen had been. He abandons Silesia, and re-enters his former dominions; but always inconstant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his cousin. This cardinal, by name Andrew Batori, immediately puts himself under the protection of the Turks, and receives a vest from the Sultan, as a mark of that favour he solicited. Martinusius like, he puts himself at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement against the imperialists.

1599.

By the death of cardinal Batori, and the flight of Sigismund, Transylvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be wasted by the Turks. Those who are astonished to see at this day, such a fertile country so thinly peopled, will find it easily accounted for, when they consider the numbers of inhabitants of both sexes which the Turks carried into slavery.

This

This year, the emperor resolves at last to enfranchise Wirtemberg, from the infeoffment of Austria. Wirtemberg is held only of the empire, but in case the heirs should fail, it was always to return to the house of Austria.

1600.

The Turks advance as far as Canisa upon the Drave, on the side of Stiria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the house of Lorraine, could not prolong this strong place from being taken. The people of Transilvania and Walachia refuse to acknowledge the emperor.

1601.

The fortune of Sigismund Batori is as inconstant as himself. He once more enters Transilvania, but is defeated by the imperial party. These provinces are the seats of continual revolutions. Happily the very same duke de Mercœur, who could neither preserve nor recover Canisa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis.

1602.

At length the archduke Matthias, more active than his brother, and assisted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incursion as far as Buda which he besieges to no purpose; all which causes a ruinous war at the charge of the emperor and the empire.

Sigismund Batori is still more unfortunate. Spurned by the Turks, who refused him assistance, he surrenders at discretion to the imperial troops; and this prince, who was to have married an archduchess, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent pension.

1603.

Some unaccountable fatality always puts

top to the Turkish conquests. Mahomet III. who threatened to command a formidable army against Hungary in person, dies in the flower of his age. Achmet, his son, a youth only 13 years old, is raised to the Ottoman throne. Factions disturb the Seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The diet of Ratisbon promises this time 80 Roman months. The empire had never before granted so powerful a succour; but, alas! it was furnished in scarce any thing but words.

This year Lubec, Danzig, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen, the old Hans towns of Germany, obtain in France those liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of these towns are exempted from all right of escheatage, and still enjoy the immunity. Events of this nature are not the most remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

1604.

The emperor is near losing that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occasioned by the exactions of a governor of Casobia, who having extorted money from an Hungarian lord named Botskai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares himself lord of Upper Hungary, without daring to take the title of king.

1605.

The Turks and the rebel Botskai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Presburg only excepted. The grand vizir was in the town of Pest. Botskai causes himself to be proclaimed prince of Transilvania, and receives the crown of Hungary from the hands of the grand vizier, with

with great solemnity at Pest. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an accommodation with the Hungarian lords, in order, if possible, to preserve the remainder of that country. It was stipulated, that for the future the states of Hungary, who had always elected their king, should themselves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to bishopricks was a right invested in the crown; but the states now article, that none but Hungarians shall be made bishops; and that such bishops as are named by the emperor, shall have no share in the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding these and some other concessions, the archduke Matthias obtains the cession of Transilvania from Botskai, who also keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand vizier. The Hungarians expressly article, that Lutheranism and Calvinism shall be freely tolerated amongst them.

Under the weak government of Rodolphus, Germany was nevertheless pretty quiet. The intestine wars that happened in it during that reign, were very trivial; such as the duke of Brunswic endeavouring to subdue the town of Brunswic, and the duke of Bavaria striving to reduce Donawert. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful, obtains his end at Donawert; but the duke of Brunswic could not prevail against Brunswic, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being supported by the Teutonic hanse. The great trading towns could at that time easily defend themselves against the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in case of war.

Thele

These occasional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face, since princes had found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other respects peaceable, in spite of the three contending religions, in spite of the troubles in Hungary and Transilvania, and the wars in the Low Countries, which incessantly harrassed the frontiers. The weakness of Rodolphus in Germany, was of a very different nature from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would, if possible, have been independent and powerful; they were troublesome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aspired.

1606.

The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Transilvanians, were only the seeds of new troubles. The Transilvanians, after the death of Botskai, notwithstanding their treaties with the emperor, chose Sigismund Ragotski as vaivode, and the emperor permits it.

1607, 1608.

Rodolphus, who had purchased peace so dearly at home, endeavours to restore it to the Low Countries by treaty, which could be only done, as formerly had been in Hungary, at the expence of the Spanish branch of Austria.

The famous union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The States General of the seven united Provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The seven united Provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rodol-

phus writes to them thus: "You are states holding of the Empire; your constitution cannot alter, without the consent of the emperor, who is your head." The States General sent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the mean time the peaceful and philosophical indifference of Rodolphus, which would have sat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the archduke Matthias his brother, who devised making himself sovereign of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rodolphus, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almost intirely over-run by the Turks, and torn in pieces by factions, Austria exposed, and Bohemia discontented. The inconstant Batori, was by a new turn of fortune, re-established in Transilvania, restored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Batori, with the Turks, and with the malecontents of Hungary. The states of Austria had furnished him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the designs of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired; has some fears concerning his own safety, and raises a few troops in haste. Matthias his brother throws off the mask and marches towards Prague. The Protestants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to insist upon new privileges from Rodolphus, whom they otherwise threaten to quit,

quit. They obtain that the Catholic clergy shall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquisition of lands without the consent of the states ; that all places of trust shall be disposed of in favour of Protestants. This condescension of the emperor irritates the Catholics, and he finds himself obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On the 11th of May, he cedes Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, to Matthias, reserving to himself, in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia, and the sovereignty of Silesia. Thus does he strip himself of all that he had so weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. His brother only acquires in the end new embarrassments. He was fain to agree with the Protestants of Austria, who, sword in hand, demanded from their new master, a free exercise of their religion, to which he was obliged to consent, at least out of the towns. He was also compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who insisted that no Germans should bear a public trust among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he strive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to resist that of the Turks.

1609.

The more the Protestant religion gained ground in Austria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The succession of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the two parties, who had, as it were, slumbered since the peace of Passau. From hence sprung a Protestant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave

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rise

rise to a Catholic one. These two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houses of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deuxponts, of Saxony, and at last Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, dispute about the inheritance of John William the last duke of Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor thought to reconcile the different pretenders, by sequestering the lands about which they disputed. He sends the archduke Leopold his cousin, to take possession of the duchy of Cleves, but at length two of the competitors, John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg unite to oppose him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the Protestant princes and the house of Austria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg are already in possession, and united by the danger that might ensue, from the division of their interest, being backed by Frederic IV. elector Palatine, solicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two opposing leagues; the Protestants supporting the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the Catholics that of Austria. Frederick IV. elector Palatine, although a Calvinist, headed the confederates of the Augsburg confession, which consisted of the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Anspach, the margrave of Baden Dourlach, the prince of Anhalt, and several imperial towns. This party assumed the name of The Evangelic Union.

The chiefs of the Catholic league which opposed this, were Maximilian duke of Bavaria,
the

the Catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony also joined this party, although he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, although a Protestant joined the Catholic league. He had no manner of reason to make this quarrel a quarrel of religion; but religion was a name that each party made use of to animate the people. The Catholic league makes pope Paul V. and Philip III. king of Spain join it, and Henry IV. attaches himself to the Evangelic Union; with this difference, that the pope and king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious well-disciplined army, which had destroyed one Catholic league already.

1610.

These words of raillery, Catholic, Evangelical, and the name of Pope, used in a profane quarrel, were the true and only cause of the assassination of Henry IV. who it is well known fell on the 14th of May in the middle of Paris, the victim of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly, from the examination of Ravaillac, who had been before a friar, that he assassinated Henry IV. because it it was everywhere said, "That he was going to make war against the Pope."

All Henry IV's great designs perished with him. However, there still remained some master-springs of that great machine which he had set in motion. The Protestant league was not destroyed. Some French troops under the command of marshal de la Châtre, support the

parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by provision to the elector of Saxony in case he proves his right. The marshal de la Châtre nevertheless takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the archduke Leopold. Juliers remains for some time in common to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

1611.

The extreme confusion which at this time reigned in Germany, plainly shews what Henry IV. might have done, had he survived. Rodolphus the philosopher remains still at Prague. The archduke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retires into Bohemia, where he subsists it upon plunder. He there usurps all the authority of the emperor, who sees himself plundered on every side by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with so many dominions, won't however let any one else plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to intreat the states to crown him, *through excess of fraternal affection.*

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia, on the 21st of May, of which place there remains to Rodolphus only the title of king, as unprofitable for him as that of emperor.

1612.

Rodolphus dies on the 20th of January, according to the Gregorian calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His house, the power of which had been so vastly feared, was scarcely held in any estimation in Europe, from the beginning of the 17th century, and this was

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was occasioned by his carelessness and the weakness of Philip III. in Spain. Rodolphus had lost his possessions, but he had saved his money. It is said there were 14,000,000 of crowns found in his exchequer. This discovered a meanness of soul. With these 14 millions and courage, he might have retaken Buda from the Turks, and made the empire respectable. But his character adapted him to the living like a private man upon a throne, and he was happier than those who plundered and despised him*.



M A T T H I A S.

F O R T Y - F I F T H E M P E R O R.

1612.

MATTHIAS the brother of Rodolphus is unanimously elected, and this unanimity astonishes Europe; but he had been enriched by the treasures of his brother, and the near neighbourhood of the Turks made it necessary to elect a prince of the house of Austria, king of Hungary.

Even to that time, the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented: therein there were some articles in favour of Matthias, whose ambition was sufficiently manifest.

* He is said to have become melancholy and distrustful, in consequence of some idle prognostics of judicial astrology, broached by the celebrated Tycho Brahe.

Hungary and Transilvania continued still in the same condition. The emperor had some small possessions in the neighbourhood of Presburg, and Gabriel Battori, the new prince of Transilvania, was the sultan's vassal.

1613.

The two great leagues catholic and evangelical, which had once threatened the empire with a civil war, appeared to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. The Protestants barely content themselves with refusing money in the diets, to the emperor. The quarrel about the succession of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all Europe, sinks into one of those particular trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire, without disordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg, and the elector of Brandenburg, being put in possession of Cleves and Juliers, were necessarily embroiled about the division of them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. These two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a Catholic, in hopes of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calvinism into his territories, hoping thereby to rouse the Protestant league to his assistance.

Mean while, the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himself stir, although there had been an imperial decree in his favour. The Spanish and Dutch Low Countries take part in the quarrel. Two great

great generals, the marquis de Spinola assists Neuburg on the part of Spain, count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the States General. It is one of the consequences of the German constitution, that foreign powers are rather interested in their intestine quarrels, than Germany itself. The Germanic body was never shaken. Its interior peace had been often disturbed by disputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body subsisted by these divisions, which in some measure founded an almost equal balance between its members.

1614.

The case was very different in Hungary and Transilvania. The emperor Matthias prepares to go against the Turks. Gabriel Battori, vauvode of Transilvania, endeavours to keep fair as well with the Turkish as Christian emperor. The Turks fall upon Battori. He is abandoned by his subjects, nor can the emperor assist him. Battori causes himself to be killed by one of his own soldiers. The only instance we have of such a nature among modern princes. Bethleem Gabor is invested by a pacha. This province seemed for ever lost to the house of Austria. The new sultan Achmet, master of so great a part of Hungary, and at the same time young and ambitious, began to make it feared, that neither Presburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. These alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rodolphus; but that prodigious extension of the Ottoman empire, which had so long given the Christians uneasiness, was the cause of their safety. The Turks were often at war with the

Persians. Their frontiers upon the Black Sea suffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened, that the Turks, at the very same time that it was feared they would overrun Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a disadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

1615.

The emperor Matthias has the happiness of concluding a treaty with sultan Achmet, much more favourable than a war could possibly have been to him. He stipulates without drawing the sword, for the restitution of Agria, Canisa, Alba-regalis, Pest, and even Buda. Thus is he in possession of almost all Hungary, leaving Transylvania and Bethleem Gabor under the Turkish protection. This treaty increases Matthias's power. The affair of the succession of Juliers is almost the only thing that disturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the Protestant princes, by leaving this country still divided between the Palatines of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this sort was extremely necessary to continue the empire in the house of Austria.

1616.

Negotiations and intrigues ingross this and the following years. Matthias was childless, and had also lost his health and his activity. In order to preserve the empire in his family, it was necessary to secure Bohemia and Hungary. These conjunctures were delicate; the states of these two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election; the spirit of party was predominant

want among them, but much more the spirit of independence: the difference of religions nourished discord, but the Protestants and Catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little disposed to choose an Austrian emperor; and the Evangelical union, which still subsisted, left this house but small hopes.

The first step to be taken, was to secure the succession of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced these two kingdoms from his brother, and was not at all inclined that his inheritance should pass to his remaining brothers Maximilian and Albert. There is not the least gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low Countries, would have certainly been more able than another to support the imperial dignity, had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that these crowns should descend to his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz duke of Stiria. Right of consanguinity was but little consulted.

1617.

Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the states of Bohemia, as successor to Matthias; according to which rank he is crowned king, on the 29th of June. The Evangelical league begins to be frightened at seeing this first approach of Ferdinand de Gratz, towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the Evangelical league, more useful than ever. He hoping to have Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, sides in every thing with the house of Austria; the Palatine, having very different interests,

continues still at the head of the Protestants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the Palatine which ensued. This was that war of thirty years continuance which desolated so many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the empire assumed a new face.

1618.

Matthias engages the Spanish branch of Austria, to renounce all the pretensions which it could possibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. Philip III. king of Spain, gives up his rights to these kingdoms in favour of Ferdinand, conditionally, that in case of Ferdinand's dying without male issue, Hungary and Bohemia shall descend to his sons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters, in the order of birthright. By this bargain these dominions might easily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited these kingdoms, and married a king of France, the eldest son of this king, would have been intitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family contract was evidently contrary to the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. The dispositions that men make for establishing the peace of futurity, are too often preparatives of discord. In fine, this new treaty causes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who see themselves disposed of, without being consulted. The Protestants of Bohemia begin to associate after the example of the Evangelical union. The Catholics were soon induced to join this party, since their civil rights had been infringed, independent of religion. Silesia, that
great

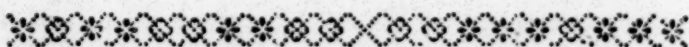
great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is kindled. The confederates are headed by count de Turm, otherwise de la Tour, a man of genius, who makes war regularly and advantageously ; and they make progress even to the gates of Vienna.

1619.

In the midst of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without being at all able to foresee the destiny of his house.

His cousin, Ferdinand de Gratz, was at length happy enough not to find any great opposition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom ; but he beholds Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia leagued against him, the Protestants of Austria ready to revolt, and those of Germany not at all disposed to raise him to the empire. The house of Austria had never seen a moment more critical. Four electors, on the one hand, offer the imperial crown to Maximilian duke of Bavaria ; the sovereignty of Bohemia, on the other, is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a distance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector Palatine, Frederic V. In the mean time, there is a meeting at Francfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany, and an emperor. Almost all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point ; the states of Bohemia order their deputies at Francfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuse to acknowledge him for king, and consequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not

only threatened to be excluded from the imperial but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire, but both Protestants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in such a manner, that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand de Gratz his particular interest; even the elector Palatine to whom the states of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which had he refused, it would have been to no purpose. This election was made on the 19th of August 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 19th of September; before which he signs a more extensive capitulation * than any of his predecessors had done.



FERDINAND II.

FORTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1619.

AT the same time that Ferdinand II. is vested with the imperial dignity, the states of Bohemia name the elector Palatine for king. This honour was now much more dangerous,

* Among the articles were two additional clauses, importing, that he would never disturb the vicars of the empire in the exercise of their jurisdiction, or permit any person whatsoever to dispute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born and bred in

gerous, than it had formerly been, on account of Ferninand's being chosen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Protestants. Had Frederick been assisted by his father-in-law, James I. king of England, he had been sure of success. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice only was to refuse the crown. He pays no respect to it, but gives way to his fortune.

Frederick is solemnly crowned at Prague on the fourth of November, with the princess of England his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the minister of the Hussites, and not by the archbishop of Prague.

This gives rise to a war as well religious as political. All the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederick. He had a few English troops in his army, sent him by some of the English nobility, either through personal friendship * for him, and hatred of the Catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law the king. He was seconded by the vaivode of Transylvania, Bethleem Gabor, who attacked the same enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the same road to take Presburg. Silesia revolts against the emperor. The elector Pa-

in Germany, and well versed in the constitutions of the empire. This article was intended to remedy an abuse committed by the preceding emperors, who used to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

* A few volunteers went over by the king's permission, that they might have opportunities of signalizing their courage, and learning the art of war.

latine's

latine's party in Bohemia are supported by the count of Mansfelt; even the Protestants of Austria are troublesome to the emperor. If the house of Bavaria, like that of Austria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the stronger party; but, though the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his house. Jealousy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor; so that what had been the fate of the house of Saxony under Charles V. was the same of that of Bavaria under Ferdinand de Gratz.

The Protestant and Catholic leagues were a little after, almost equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favour Ferdinand; furnishing him with troops, as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgot her old interests, and was not yet governed by a cardinal Richlieu. The court of Lewis XIII. weak and confused, seemed to have views (if we would suppose it to have had any) very different from the designs of Henry the Great.

1620.

Lewis XIII. instead of marching with an army, sends the duke d'Angouleme, at the head of a solemn embassy to offer his mediation. The princes assembled at Ulm listen to him, but concluded upon nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethleem Gabor causes himself to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederick V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the states of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkish and a Venetian ambassador

sador in the town of Neuhauſel. It is unuſual to ſee the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was ſo intirely at variance with the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, that ſhe openly declared herſelf againſt all of that houſe.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better ſeconded in Germany than the elector Palatine.

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Luſatia; on the other, and the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia, with a powerful army, whiſt the emperor's forces make a ſhift to hold out in Hungary againſt Bethleem Gabor.

The Palatine is at one and the ſame time attacked both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederick of Naſſau, the brother of, and afterwards ſucceſſor to Maurice, the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has alſo ſome Engliſh; but againſt him are the choiceſt troops of the Spaniſh Low Countries, under the command of the famous Spinola. The Palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Auſtria and the elector Palatine. On the 19th of November, Frederick is intirely defeated near Prague, by his relation Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Sileſia, with his wife and two of his children, and loſes in one day, all his dominions both hereditary and acquired.

1621.

James king of England mediates in favour of
his

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his unfortunate kinsman, with as little success as he had acted with conduct *.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January the 20th, the emperor puts the elector Palatine under the ban of the empire. He banishes the duke of Jagendorf into Silesia, the prince of Anhalt, the counts de Hoenlo, de Mansfelt, de la Tour, and all those who had taken arms in favour of Frederick.

This vanquished prince finds some intercessors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavours to persuade the emperor to clemency; notwithstanding which Ferdinand causes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remain in Bohemia, after which he hastens to secure Upper Hungary against Bethleem Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this campaign, and Ferdinand soon enters into an accommodation with the Transilvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to secure the rest. In the mean time the elector Palatine flies from Silesia to Denmark, and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of Bavaria seizes upon the Upper Palatinate, and a body of Spanish troops, furnished by the arch-

* Had James refused succours to his son-in-law, from an unwillingness to involve England in German quarrels, he would have acted right: but he was amused by Gondemar the Spanish ambassador, who assured him that such an interposition would ruin the proposed match between his son and the Infanta; and besides, he was so bigotted to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, that he did not approve of the Palatine's revolting against the emperor.

duke

duke governor of the Low Countries, pours into the Palatinate under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the assistance which the elector Palatine could obtain from either his father-in-law king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and useless embassies to Vienna. From France, whose interest it was to take his part, he had no assistance. At length his only resource lay in two men, who ought naturally to have abandoned him. These were the duke de Jagendorf in Silisia, and the count de Mansfelt in the Palatinate; both of them banished by the emperor, whose favour they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederick. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfelt particularly, still headed a little army, which he kept together in spite of the Austrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfelt supplied them with, who made war like a very partizan; the art of doing which was pretty well known in those times, wherein it was rare to see very large armies subsisting for a long time, and wherein a resolute leader might maintain himself for some time under the favour of intestine troubles. Mansfelt rouses and encourages the neighbouring Protestant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunswick, named Christiern, the administrator, but in truth the usurper of the house of Halberstadt, joins Mansfelt. This Christiern intitled himself the Friend of God, and the Enemy of the Priests; nor was he less an enemy to the people, whose estates he ravaged. Mansfelt and he did a
great

great deal of mischief to the country, without being of the least service to the Palatine.

The prince of Orange and the United Provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low Countries, being obliged to turn all their force against them, were not able to afford the Palatine any effectual assistance. His party was crushed; notwithstanding which, it was from time to time able to make some considerable opposition, and upon the slightest occasion, some Protestant prince was found ready to arm in its favour. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had a dispute about some land with the landgrave of Darmstadt, and being piqued against the emperor, who favoured his competitor, he supported as much as possible the elector Palatine. The margrave of Baden-Dourlach joined Mansfelt, and all the Protestant princes in general, fearing that they should soon be forced to make restitution of the ecclesiastical possessions, appeared disposed to take arms: whence he has hopes of being seconded by some powers.

1622.

It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to contribute to the happiness of Ferdinand. His generals and his troops complete the ruin of the Palatine his cousin's party. Tilly the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's best generals, totally defeats, near Aschaffenburg, the prince of Brunswick, surnamed very properly, the Enemy of the Priests, who was returning from plundering the abbey of Fulda, and all the ecclesiastical states of that part of Germany.

Mansfelt was the only person left who could defend

defend the Palatinate, and he was capable of doing it, being at the head of a small army which joined with the remainder of Brunswick's forces, amounted to about 10,000 men. Mansfelt was a very extraordinary man; he was bastard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately assisted by the prince of Orange and the Protestants, and found himself general of an army, which was entirely his own.

The unhappy Palatine was weak enough, being very ill advised, to renounce his succour, in hopes that he might obtain from the emperor favourable conditions, which it was impossible to do without force. He himself obliged Mansfelt and Brunswick to abandon him. These two wandering chiefs pass into Lorrain and Alsace, and search out new countries to ravage. All the accommodation that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector Palatine, is to send the victorious Tilly to take Heidelberg, Manheim, and the rest of the country; in short, all that belongs to the elector is looked upon as the forfeiture of an exile. He had the most numerous and best chosen library in Germany, particularly of manuscripts; these were sent to the duke of Bavaria, who transported them by water to Rome; but most of the cargo was lost by shipwreck, and the remainder is still preserved in the Vatican. Religion, and the love of liberty, always occasion some troubles in Bohemia; but they are such seditions as to be ended by punishment. The emperor banishes the Lutheran ministers from Prague, and shuts up their churches. He gives the administration of the university of Prague to the Jesuits. There

is nothing could now interrupt the prosperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethleem Gabor, acknowledging him sovereign of Transilvania, and ceding to him seven counties, containing 50 leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The rest of Hungary, which had long been an uninterrupted scene of destructive war, was at present, of not the least service to the house of Austria, except that it still continued to be the bulwark of the Austrian states.

1623.

The emperor, being established in Germany, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares, "that the elector Palatine being guilty of high treason, had forfeited his estates, dignities, and possessions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to lessen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian duke of Bavaria, be in this diet invested with the Palatinate." This was speaking like a master. The Catholic princes in every thing give way to the emperor's will. The Protestants make some public remonstrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick, Holstein, and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and others, renew the Evangelical league. They are joined by the king of Denmark; but this league being only defensive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleased.

On the 25th of February, Ferdinand upon his throne, invests the duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate. The vice-chancellor saying in these words expressly, "that the emperor out of the
fulness

fulness of his power confers on him this dignity."

The territories of the elector Palatine were not by this investiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article, which gave rise to many great difficulties.

John George de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is in this diet made a prince of the empire. Brunswick, the Enemy of the Priests, and the famous general Mansfelt, secretly supported by the Protestant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunswick establishes himself in Lower Saxony, and afterwards in Westphalia. The count de Tilly vanquishes and disperses his army. Mansfelt still remains immoveable and invincible. This was the only support which now remained to the Palatine; a support that could not restore him to his dominions.

1624.

The Protestant league still concealed a flame, which was ready to break out against the emperor. James I. king of England, not being able to obtain any thing by negotiation in favour of his son-in-law, joins the league in Lower-Saxony, of which Christiern IV. king of Denmark was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head against the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furnishes money, Christiern IV. king of Denmark finds troops. The famous Mansfelt increases his little army, and they prepare for war.

1625.

At length the king of England having resolved efficaciously to support his kinsman, and
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to declare against the house of Austria, deprives his confederates of the powerful assistance he might have given them, by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the Evangelical union that had raised the standard. Lower Saxony was the seat of war.

1626.

The emperor's two great generals, Tilly and Walstein, stop the progress of the king of Denmark and his confederates. Tilly defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northheim, in the Brunswick territories. This victory seems to deprive the Palatine of every resource. Mansfelt, who never lost his courage, transplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia, to attack the emperor in Hungary. Bethleem Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms, and joins Mansfelt with 10,000 men. He armed the Turks, who were still masters of Buda; but this great and bold project is dissipated, without costing Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfelt's army is destroyed by distempers: he dies himself of the contagion in the flower of his age, exhorting the remainder of his soldiers, even in the hour of death, to sacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunswick, the other support of the elector Palatine, died some short time before. That fortune which deprived the Palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethleem Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no assistance,

assistance, as it was under the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Walstein repulsed him as he had repulsed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his ministers as in his generals, controuls Bethleem Gabor by a treaty, in which Transilvania and the seven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole was to fall to the house of Austria.

1627.

Every thing succeeds with Ferdinand, without his taking any other steps than wishing or commanding. Count Tilly pursues the king of Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holstein and of Brunswick are disarmed almost as soon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only person that allowed his subjects to enlist in the service of Denmark, recalls them, and breaks the treaty. The count de Tilly, and Walstein now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live every where at discretion.

Ferdinand, uniting the interests of religion and politics, intends taking the bishoprick of Halberstadt from the house of Brunswick, and the archbishopricks of Magdeburgh and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to confer them together with several abbies, on one of his sons. He had caused his son Ferdinand Ernest to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbours of the Turks and of Bethleem Gabor, were to be soothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

1628.

1628.

Ferdinand at length enjoys absolute authority. The Protestant princes and Christiern IV, king of Denmark, address themselves secretly to the French ministry, because cardinal de Richlieu began to be extremely respectable all over Europe. They with reason flatter themselves that the cardinal, who wanted to crush the Protestants in France, would support them in Germany. Cardinal Richlieu causes money to be sent to the king of Denmark, and encourages the Protestant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the Protestant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itself against the emperor; nor is his happiness as yet interrupted. He proscribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the Danes had obliged to declare for them, whose duchy he gives to Walstein.

1629.

The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better use of it.

Christiern IV. who had a dispute with the duke of Holstein, ravages the duchy of Sleswick with his troops, which no longer serve against Ferdinand. The court of Vienna sends him monitorial letters, as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Sleswick. The king of Denmark answers, that this duchy never was an imperial fief like that of Holstein. The court of Vienna replies, that the kingdom of Denmark itself was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was scarcely possible for the
pretensions

pretensions of the empire upon the North to be supported with more dignity.

The empire, ever since the time of Charles V. had till now appeared entirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua, called Vincent II. died without issue. His kinsman, Charles de Gonzaga duke de Nevers, claims the succession in virtue of some matrimonial contracts. His relation Cæsar Gonzaga, duke de Guastalla, had received the eventual investiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke de Nevers was already in possession, and had caused himself to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to seize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the first time, exerts his authority in Italy: he sends count Nassau, in quality of Imperial commissary, to put in sequestration Mantua and Montferrat, whilst the process is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this sort had not been heard of in Italy these sixty years. It was very visible, that the emperor intended at one and the same time to support the ancient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spanish branch of Austria with these spoils. The ministry of France, who watched every opportunity of limiting the Austrian power, assists the duke of Mantua. It had already intermeddled with the affairs of the Valteline, and hindered the Spanish

nish branch of Austria from seizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tirol and the Milanese, and the two branches of Austria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low Countries. With these views cardinal de Richlieu sided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were a people the nearest and most exposed, send into the Mantuan an army of 15,000 men. The emperor declares all such vassals of the empire in Italy as take part with the duke, to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favour these decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the house of Austria; and Ferdinand, who saw himself by the Imperial dignity at the head of that house, was looked upon to be the most powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops, assisted by some Spanish regiments, take Mantua by assault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand, every where successful, imagines at length the time was come to make the Imperial dignity despotic, and the Catholic religion universal. He orders, by edict of his council, that the Protestants should restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had stood possessed since the time of the treaty of Passau signed by Charles V. This was giving the greatest blow to the Protestant party; for the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lubeck, Misnia, Naumburg, Merseburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, and a crowd of benefices, must have been given up. There was not one prince, either Lutheran

ran or Calvinist, who did not stand possessed of some ecclesiastical substance.

The Protestants have now no longer any measures to keep. The elector of Saxony, whom the hopes of one day possessing Cleves and Juliers had so long restrained, at length breaks out. These hopes had been weakened, inasmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themselves. Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the first, and Juliers by the second, without any disturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony sees these provinces lost to him, and Magdeburg, with the revenue of several bishoprics, going to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near 150,000 men in arms; the Catholic league had about 30,000. The two houses of Austria were closely united. The pope and all the Catholic states encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly cross him; nor was there any power in Europe that seemed in a condition to oppose him. The duke of Walstein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Wirtemberg; but the Catholic churches gained very little by these restitutions. Much was taken from the Protestants; the officers of Walstein were enriched, and the troops lived at the expence of both parties, who equally complained.

1630.

Ferdinand sees himself exactly in the same circumstances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to submit, or he was to be

overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had assisted in oppressing the Palatine; and it was he who, conjunctly with other Protestant princes, secretly engaged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whose assistance had been so very useless.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine, he aspires at being chosen king of the Romans, and treats secretly with France, while the Protestants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Ratisbon. His design was to have his son Ferdinand Ernest elected king of the Romans: he also designed to engage the empire to second him against Gustavus Adolphus, in case that king should enter Germany; and against France, should it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in opposition to him; but, in spite of all his power, he finds the electors so little inclined to serve him, that he dares not even propose the election of his son.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not personally present at this assembly; but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The elector of Bavaria was the first to say, "that it was impossible to deliberate freely in a diet, so long as the emperor has an army of 150,000 men on foot." The ecclesiastical electors and bishops who were present, pressed the restitution of the ecclesiastical effects. This project could not be put in execution without

out the support of an army, and the army could not be supported but at the expence of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, insists upon Ferdinand's dismissing the duke Walstein. Ferdinand might have assumed the command himself, and by so doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take so glorious a step: he deprives Walstein of the command, and gives it to Tilly; by these means intirely losing the Bavarian: in short, he has soldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the states of Germany fear their approaching loss, gives uneasiness to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richlieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty, when informed that Gustavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negotiates with that monarch: England and the United Provinces do the same. The elector Palatine, who a little before had been forsaken by all the world, finds himself suddenly on the point of being assisted by all these powers. The king of Denmark, weakened by his preceding losses, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Gustavus at length quits Sweden on the 13th of June, embarking with 30,000 men: he lands in Pomerania: he already claims this province, either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children: his dominions, by the law of consanguinity, should have devolved to the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus stipulates, that on the death of this duke,

he is to hold the province in sequestration, until he shall be reimbursed the expences of the war.

1631.

Cardinal de Richlieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Gustavus until that king's arrival in Pomerania, which only costs France 300,000 livres, paid down, and 1,200,000 livres a year. This was one of the most ingenious treaties which had ever been made. A neutrality for the elector of Bavaria, who might have been the greatest support of the emperor, was therein stipulated, as also that of the princes of the Catholic league, who were not to assist the emperor against the Swedes; and care was taken at the same time to make Gustavus promise to preserve all the rights of the Roman church in every place where he should find that religion subsisting. By these means, the making this a war of religion was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themselves were furnished with a specious pretext for not assisting the emperor. This league was signed at Brandenburg on the 23d of January.

The Protestant states gained new courage. They assemble at Leipstick, where they resolve to present their most humble remonstrances to Ferdinand, and to support their petition with 40,000 men for the establishment of peace in the empire. Gustavus still augments his army as he advances: he comes to Frankfort upon the Oder, yet cannot prevent general Tilly from taking Magdeburg by assault on the 20th of May. The town is reduced to ashes: the inhabitants are destroyed by fire and sword; an
horrible

horrible event ! but now almost swallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed these times. Tilly being master of the Elbe, imagines he shall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recalls his troops from Italy : the superiority was still entirely on his side. The elector of Saxony, who had been the first to call in Gustavus Adolphus, is at this time extremely embarrassed ; and the elector of Brandenburg, finding himself equal in power to the imperial and Swedish armies, continues very irresolute.

Gustavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him, sword in hand : the elector George William delivers to him the fortress of Spandau, during the whole time of the war ; secures all the passes for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, constraint, as an excuse for his conduct.

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Gustavus. The king of Sweden advances towards Leipstick. Tilly arrives before him, and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies consisted of about 30,000 fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of resistance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to share their flight. This misfortune is repaired by the Swedish discipline. Gustavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accustomed his army to order and to a sort of exercise that never had been known be-

fore, in consequence of which Tilly, though looked upon to be one of the best generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on the 17th of September.

The conqueror pursues the Imperialists into Franconia : all places submit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Silesia. Gustavus suddenly re-establishes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions, to the surprise of Germany ; and, after taking Mentz, hastens into the Palatinate.

The deposed elector Palatine searches out his protector in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alsace. The elector of Saxony, on his side, makes himself master of the capital of Bohemia, and conquers Lusatia. All the Protestant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Gustavus's victories. Tilly with the remains of his army continues in Westphalia, where he is re-inforced by some troops from the duke of Lorraine ; but he takes no step towards opposing such rapid progress.

The emperor, fallen in less than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared so formidable, is obliged at last to restore the command of his troops to that duke de Walstein whom he had deprived of it, with a more absolute power than ever had been given to any general. Walstein accepts the charge ; and there are only a few troops left to Tilly, to enable him at least to act on the defensive. The protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector Palatine, in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches Ferdinand in these critical times, rather like a prince

prince with whom he would chuse to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to assist.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain those numerous armies that had rendered him so formidable; they had, before the battle of Leipſick, ſubſiſted at the expence of the Catholic and Proteſtant ſtates, ſince which time they were deprived of theſe reſources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as poſſible, all lay upon Walſtein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to aſk both men and money from pope Urban VIII. and they are both reſuſed him. He endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publiſh a cruſade againſt Guſtavus; and his holineſs promiſes a jubilee inſtead of a cruſade.

1632.

Mean while the king of Sweden re-paſſes the Rhine towards Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donawert upon the Danube; reſtores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia belonging to the houſe of Auſtria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the paſſage of the Leek, in ſpite of Tilly, who is mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augſburg as a conqueror, and reſtores the Proteſtant religion. It is ſcarcely poſſible to puſh the rights of victory to a greater length. The magiſtrates of Augſburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neuter, and not in arms either for the emperor or himſelf, is obliged to quit Munich, which ſurrenders to the conqueror on the 7th of May, paying to him 300,000 rixdollars, to ſave it

from being plundered. The Palatine has at least the comfort to enter with Gustavus the palace of him who had dispossessed him.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany seem desperate. Tilly, an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but against Gustavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, discontented with the emperor, was his victim, and saw himself driven out of his capital. Walstein, duke of Friedland, still more disgusted with the duke of Bavaria his declared enemy, had refused to march to his assistance; and the emperor Ferdinand, whose inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Walstein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Walstein now employs himself in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons, as Gustavus had over the Imperialists.

With great difficulty Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, at length obtains being joined by Walstein. The Bavarian army, partly levied at the elector's expence, and partly at the expence of the Catholic league, consists of about 25,000 men. That of Walstein amounted to 30,000 old soldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above 20,000, but reinforcements were coming in to him on every side. He is joined by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince Palatine of Birkenfield. His general Banier always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighbourhood of Nuremberg with above 50,000 men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Walstein in their intrenched camp. They give him battle, but it is not at
all

all decisive*. Gustavus carries the war into Bavaria. Walsstein carries it into Saxony; provinces, the destruction of which is completed by these different movements.

Gustavus leaving 12,000 men in Bavaria, hastens to Saxony. He soon arrives by forced marches at Leipstick, at a time when Walsstein did not in the least expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lutzen on the 25th of November. The victory is a long time doubtful; but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loss of their king, who is found among the dead, pierced by two balls and two strokes of a sword. Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who served in his army*, is accused of having assassinated him,

* Gustavus attacked the Imperialists in their intrenchments, and was so severely handled, that he had like to have lost his whole army. This would have been the case had not the retreat been conducted by an old Scottish colonel called Hepburn, who had quitted the Swedish service in disgust. He was standing by the king, when that monarch declared he had not one officer upon whom he could depend for this service: Hepburn immediately unsheathing his sword, "this (said he) is the only occasion in which I will ever draw a sword in your service." So saying, he rushed into the hottest part of the battle, delivered the king's orders, and conducted the retreat with such ability and deliberation, that the Imperialists durst not give them the least disturbance. Gustavus thanked Hepburn for what he had done; but he never once invited him to remain in his service; and the old veteran retired to France, where it is said he lost his life in a duel.

† Francis Albert, duke of Saxe Lauemburg. What confirms

him; nay, his death is imputed to cardinal de Richlieu who had business for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who exposed himself like a soldier, to die like one?

This loss was fatal to the elector Palatine, who hoped to have been re-established by Gustavus. He was then sick at Mentz, and the news of Gustavus's death heightened his disorder in such a manner, that he died on the 19th of November.

Wallstein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lutzen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quiet Germany now that Gustavus was no longer at their head; but general Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He causes the body of the king to be publicly shewn in the army, in order to excite the spirit of revenge.

1633.

Gustavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter six years old, and consequently a government divided, as was the Protestant league by the death of him who had been its chief and support. The fruits of so many victories were now near being lost; yet nevertheless they were not. The true reason perhaps of so extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his closet, when he ought to have exerted himself at the head of his army. The senate of Sweden appoint their chancellor Oxenstiern to follow exactly the

confirms this suspicion, was his abandoning the Swedes immediately after the battle, and returning to the emperor's army, which he is said to have quitted for this vile purpose.

designs

designs of Gustavus the great in Germany. They also give him absolute power. Oxenstiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank, than ever subject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the Protestant princes of Germany.

These princes met at Heilbron, and among them are the ambassadors of France and England, and the states general. Oxenstiern opens the conference in his own house, and immediately signalizes himself by restoring the Upper and Lower Palatinate to Charles Lewis, son of the dispossessed elector. This prince Charles Lewis had appeared in one of those assemblies as an elector; but this ceremony had not restored him his dominions.

Oxenstiern renews with cardinal Richlieu the treaty that had been made with Gustavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year subsidy, instead of 1200000 livres which had been allowed his master.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the Protestant princes, having a view of dividing them; but he does not succeed. The war is still continued in plundering Germany with undecisive success. Austria is the only part which was free from it, as well before as after the time of Gustavus. The Spanish branch of Austria had hitherto but feebly supported the imperial branch; however, it at last makes an effort, sending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about 20,000 men, the greatest part of which army he lost in his marches and operations. The elector of Trier, bishop of Spire, had built and fortified Philipsburg, on which the imperial troops had seized

seized in spite of him. Oxenstiern, by the force of the Swedish arms, obliges them to restore it to the elector, notwithstanding the duke of Feria vainly strove to force him to raise the siege. This wise politician seemed inclined to convince Europe by his conduct, that he did not want to subdue the Catholic religion; but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the Protestants and Catholics. A conduct that encouraged the pope to refuse the men, money, and a crusade, which the emperor had demanded.

1634.

France as yet had only taken part privately in this dispute. It had hitherto cost her but a very trifling subsidy to procure the throne of Ferdinand to be shaken by the Swedish arms; but cardinal Richlieu began now to deliberate upon making some use of their success. He vainly endeavoured the sequestration of Philipsburg; for France had taken every fair opportunity of making herself mistress of some towns in Alsace, as Haguenau and Saverne, which she had obliged the count de Solmes, governor of Strasburg, to part with by treaty. Lewis XIII. who had not declared war against Austria, yet declares it against Charles duke of Lorraine, because he was a partizan of that house. The ministry of France dared not as yet openly attack the emperor or Spain, because they were able to defend themselves, but turned their arms upon the feeble Lorraine. Charles II. the deposed duke, is commonly called Charles IV. a prince well known for his extravagancies, his marriages, and his misfortunes.

The

The French have an army in Lorrain, and iroops in Alsace ready to act openly against the emperor, the first fair opportunity that may afford the least justification for such a proceeding. The duke de Feria, pursued by the Swedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almost intire dispersion of his army.

In the midst of these troubles and misfortunes, duke Walstein is ingrossed with the design of making the army, which he commanded in Bohemia, contribute to his own grandeur, and thereby render himself independent of an emperor who seemed dilatory in assisting even himself, and was always distrustful of his generals. It is pretended that Walstein treated with the Protestant princes, and even with Sweden and France. But those intrigues of which he is accused were never clearly proved. The conspiracy of Walstein is received as an historical fact, and yet we are absolutely ignorant of what kind it was. They guessed at his projects. His real crime was that of making the army his own, and endeavouring to become absolute master of it. Time and opportunity had done the rest. He had administered an oath to such of the principal officers of this army as were most in his interest; the purport of which was, their binding themselves *to defend his person and share his fortune*. Although he might justify himself in this step, by the very ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spanish and Bavarian parties at that court were Walstein's professed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a resolution of taking off Walstein and his principal friends

friends by assassination. One Butler, an Irishman, to whom Walsein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Lesly and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this assassination. These three strangers having received their commission in Egra, where Walsein at that time resided, caused four officers, who were the principal friends of the duke, to be forthwith strangled at supper; after which they assassinate himself in the castle on the 15th of February. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity so very odious, it ought to be reckoned amongst his misfortunes*.

All the effects of this assassination were to exasperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Silesia. If the Bohemians stirred not upon this occasion, it was because they were awed by an army; but the Silesians openly revolt, and join the Swedes. The Swedish arms still keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole course of the Oder; marshal Horn governs upon the Rhine; Bernard duke of Weimar upon the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. The emperor still continues at Vienna. It was happy for him, that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethleem-Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. employed against the Persians.

* It ought to be reckoned amongst his crimes; for no kind of necessity can justify a monarch in patronizing assassination. Walsein was put to the ban of the empire before he fell by these assassins,

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, secure on that side, drew some assistance from Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tirol. The king of Spain supplied him with some money, the Catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The Austrians and Bavarians united, support the fortune of Germany upon the Danube. Ferdinand Ernest king of Hungary son to the emperor, encourages the Austrians by putting himself at their head. He takes Ratibon in sight of the duke of Saxe-Weimar. This prince and marshal Horn who were joined, make a stand upon the borders of Suabia, and on the 5th of September they give the Imperialists battle. This was the memorable battle of Norlinguen. The king of Hungary commanded the army: the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops; the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low Countries, led some Spanish regiments. Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who had been stripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thousand men, which he had sometimes led to the service of the emperor, sometimes to that of the Spaniards, and subsisted at the cost of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army, several great generals, such as Picolimini, and John de Vert. It was one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought, lasting above a day and a half; the army of Weimar was almost totally destroyed, and Suabia and Franconia submitted to the Imperialists, where they quartered at discretion.

This

This misfortune, which was shared by the Swedes, by France, and the Protestants of Germany, contributed to the most christian king's superiority, and at length secured him the possession of Alsace. It was not the chancellor Oxenstiern's intention before this event, that France should have much power in that country; but that the Swedes, who had all the labour of the war, should reap the advantage of it. Besides, Lewis XIII. had never openly declared against the emperor. But after the battle of Norlinguen the Swedes were obliged to intreat the ministry of France to take possession of Alsace, under the name of protector, upon condition that neither the Protestant princes nor states should make peace or treat with the emperor without the consent of France and Sweden. This treaty is signed at Paris November the first.

1635.

In consequence of this, the king of France sends an army into Alsace, and puts garrisons into all the towns, Strasburg excepted, which appears as a considerable ally. The elector of Triers, being under the protection of France, is arrested by the emperor. This elector is confined at Brussels under the care of the cardinal infant, and furnishes also a reason for going to war with the Spanish branch of Austria.

France had not joined her arms to those of Sweden, until the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Norlinguen had recovered the spirits of the Imperialists. Cardinal Richlieu already shared in imagination, the conquest of the Spanish Low Countries with the Dutch,

Dutch. He reckoned he should soon have the chief command himself, and Frederick Henry, a prince of Orange, be subservient to his orders. In Germany he had in his pay Bernard de Weimar upon the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was distinguished by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles IV. of Lorraine or of Mansfeld, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Higher and Lower Rhine, although it was paid by France, and not in the least subsisted by these circles.

This was the height of the thirty years war, in which, on the one side we see the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and the Catholic league engaged; and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the Protestant league.

The emperor could not possibly neglect dividing the Protestant league after the victory of Norlinguen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war, which had she made in the time that Gustavus himself was in Germany, the French troops had entered without resistance a discontented country, harrassed by the government of Ferdinand; but they came at a time when Germany was wearied by the Swedish devastations, after the death of Gustavus, and the battle of Norlinguen, when the superiority again appeared in favour of the Imperialists.

At the same time that France declared herself, the emperor did not neglect to make a very necessary agreement with most of the Protestant princes. The same elector of Saxony, who

who had been the first that called in the Swedes, was the first to abandon them by the treaty, which is distinguished by the name of Prague. Few treaties more plainly shew how religion serves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay sacrificed to necessity.

The emperor had set all Germany in a flame by the restitution of benefices; in the treaty of Prague he first gave up the archbishopric of Magdeburg and all ecclesiastical possession to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a pension, which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg a Calvinist. The interest of the house of the elector Palatine, which had given first rise to this long war, seemed to be the thing least regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was only obliged to subsist the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the Palatine his son, when he should submit to the imperial authority.

The emperor besides this, engages to restore to such of the confederates of the Protestant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them; and it was likewise stipulated, that they should restore all they had taken from the house of Austria; the latter indeed was very trifling, since the emperor's dominions, Upper Austria excepted, had not been in the least exposed in this war.

One branch of the house of Brunswic, the duke of Mecklenburg, the house of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is established at Gotha, duke Bernard, de Saxe Weimar's brother, besides several imperial towns, signed this treaty. The others continue to negotiate, expecting great advantages.

The

The whole weight of the war, which had rested entirely upon Gustavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French; and this war, which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic sea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alsace, Lorrain, Franche-Comté, and the borders of France. Lewis XIII. who had only paid 1,200,000 franks by way of subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus, allowed 4,000,000 to Bernard de Weimar for the use of his troops; besides which the French ministry gave up to this duke all their pretensions upon Alsace, of which province they promised to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It must be owned, that had not cardinal Richieu been the man who made this treaty, it would appear very strange. How could they give a young German prince, who might have children, a province of such vast advantage to France, wherein she already possessed several towns? It is very probable, that cardinal Richieu had no notion of keeping Alsace; nor had he any hope of annexing Lorrain to France, over which he had no manner of right, and which must have been surrendered upon a peace. The conquest of Franche Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that side they make but very feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low Countries with the Dutch, was the cardinal's principal object: and he had this so much at heart, that had his health and affairs permitted it, he was resolved to have commanded there in person; yet in this project he was principally disappointed, and Alsace, which he had so freely bestowed upon Bernard de Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted

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lotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foresight of the ablest politicians, unless they had said it was the intention of the French ministry to keep Alsace under the name of the duke of Weimar, 'as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

1636.

Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel; but not as the imperial houses of Saxony and Suabia had done, to defend its liberty against the German arms. It was intended to dispute the superiority of the Spanish branch of Austria governing in Italy, on the other side of the Alps, as it had been formerly opposed on the banks of the Rhine. The ministry of France had Savoy at that time for itself, and had just driven the Spaniards out of the Valteline. These two great Austrian bodies were thus attacked on all sides.

France alone sends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itself on the side of Piedmont, the Rhine, and the frontiers of Flanders; those of Franche-Comté, as well as those of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made the like efforts; and France had never manifested before so many resources.

In the midst of so many storms, such confusion of powers which pressed it on every side, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is defeated by general Banier in Westphalia, who ravages Hesse, Saxony and Westphalia, Ferdinand, still intirely ingrossed by politics, at last causes his son Ferdinand Ernest, to be declared king of the Romans,

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mans, in the diet of Ratisbon on the 12th of December ; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Austria exclaim against this election as null and void. The elector of Triers, say they who advance this, was a prisoner; Charles Lewis son to Frederick the Palatine, king of Bohemia, is not restored as yet to the rights of his Palatinate : the electors of Mentz and Cologne are the emperors pensioners, all which, say they, is against the golden bull. It is very certain that none of these clauses were inserted in the golden bull ; and that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices, was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of an emperor ; the manner of which is not specified in the golden bull.

1637.

Ferdinand II. dies on the 15th of February, aged 59, after a reign of 18 years, which had been perplexed with foreign and intestine wars, against which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, because in his successes he had imagined it necessary to be bloody ; and he had afterwards felt great changes of fortune. Germany was still more unfortunate than her master ; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes, and by the French, pining under poverty and famine, and plunged in barbarity, the certain consequences of a war so long and so unhappy.

FERDI.

F E R D I N A N D III.

F O R T Y - S E V E N T H E M P E R O R .

FERDINAND III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harrassed people began to hope for some repose ; but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been appointed at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give at least to the public the appearances of the approaching accommodation. But peace was not the object of either cardinal Richlieu or the Austrian council's intention ; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general Banier, and the country about the Rhine by duke Bernard de Weimar : the Spaniards having taken the island of St. Margaret had entered Languedoc, and in the Low Countries penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low Countries against the cardinal Infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the Protestant and Catholic league, and on the elector Palatine's account : but their purpose now was the superiority of which France endeavoured to deprive the house of Austria, and the design of the Swedes was to preserve
part

part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

1638.

Duke Bernard de Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in 15 days near Rhensfield, one of the four forest-towns of which he made himself master; and at the second battle, he entirely destroyed the army of John de Werth, a celebrated imperial general, whom he took prisoner with many of his general officers. John de Werth is sent to Paris. Weimar besieges Brisac; he gains a third battle, assisted by marshal de Guebriant and viscount Turenne, against general Gœuts. He gains a fourth against Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, who like Weimar had no estate but his army. After having won four victories in less than four months, he takes the fort of Brisac on the 18th of December, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alsace.

Charles Lewis, count Palatine, who had re-assembled some troops, and who burned with impatience to re-establish himself by his sword, is not so happy in Westphalia, where the Imperialists destroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under general Banier make new conquests in Pomerania. The first year of this reign is hardly remarkable for any thing but misfortunes.

1639.

The good fortune of the house of Austria delivers it from Bernard de Weimar, as it had already done from Gustavus Adolphus. He is

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cut

cut off by sickness in the flower of his age, being only 35 years old, on the 18th of July.

The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conquests. This army, in truth, was secretly paid by France ; but it belonged to Weimar. It had sworn fidelity to no other. There was a necessity to negotiate with it, to preserve it in the French service, and keep it from the Swedish.

Marshal Guebriant purchases the fidelity of these troops, and Lewis XIII. is thus master of Weimar's army, of Alsace, Brisgaw, and the neighbouring country.

Money and negotiations do every-thing for him. He disposes intirely of Hesse, a province that furnishes good soldiers : the celebrated Amelia, dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot, with the help of some French subsidies, an army of 10,000 men in that ruined country which she had restored ; enjoying at the same time that reputation which all the virtues of the sex bestow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neuter ; but then she caused a considerable diversion by employing Spain and the Low Countries.

Banier was in all his battles successful. After making sure of Pomerania, he had secured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of so many troubles, which had been the re-establishment of the house of the Palatine, seemed to be most neglected, and by a singular fatality this prince was thrown into prison by the French themselves,

selves, who had so long appeared willing to place him in the electöral chair.

The count Palatine, at the death of the duke de Weimar, had conceived a noble, and indeed a very reasonable design, that of re-entering upon his estates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchased with the money of England : he goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France; but the cardinal Richlieu, who was very willing to protect him, yet did not care to see him independent, causes him to be arrested; nor is he set at liberty, until Brisac and Weimar's troops are secured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

1640.

The progress of the French and Swedes continue. The duke de Longueville and marshal Guebriant join general Banier. This army is still increased by the troops of Hesse and Lunenburg.

They march toward Vienna without general Piccolomini; but in a wary, skilful, and deliberate manner. It had been otherwise very difficult for so numerous an army to advance in sight of the enemy in a country that had been so long ruined, and where the soldiers, as well as the people, were in want of every thing.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the house of Austria. Catalonia revolts, and gives itself up to France. Portugal, which ever since the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoverished Spain, shakes off the Austrian yoke, and soon erects herself into a separate and flourishing kingdom.

Ferdinand then begins seriously to treat of peace; yet at the same time demands of the diet of Ratisbon any army of 90,000 men to carry on the war.

1641.

While the emperor is at the diet of Ratisbon, general Banier is very near seizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube, which was frozen, and had he not been surprised by a thaw, he had taken Ferdinand in Ratisbon.

The same fortune which had taken off Gustavus and Weimar in the midst of their conquests, at length delivers the Imperialists from the famous general Banier. He sickens, and dies, on the 20th of May, at Halberstadt, being 40 years old, and at that time more formidable than ever. None of the Swedish generals had any long career.

They negotiate still. Cardinal Richlieu could have made peace, but he did not chuse it: he knew very well what advantages France was to reap; and it was his intention to make himself necessary, during the life, and after the death of Lewis XIII. whose end he foresaw approaching; but his forecast could not teach him that he was to die first. He concluded a new treaty of an offensive alliance with Christina queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they soothed an oppressed people. He augments the Swedish subsidy with an addition of 200,000 livres.

Count de Trostenson succeeds general Banier in the Swedish army, which was in realty an army of Germans. Almost all the Swedes who had fought under Gustavus and Banier were

dead; and under the name of Swedes, the Germans fight against their country. Torstenson, bred under Gustavus, shews himself worthy of so great a master. Marshal Guebriant and he again defeat the Imperialists near Wolfenbuttle.

Austria, notwithstanding so many victories, is not yet subdued. The emperor still holds out. Germany, from the Maine, even to the Baltic sea, is laid waste. The war is not carried into Austria. They had not sufficient forces. These victories, so much boasted of, were not entirely decisive: they could not at once go through so many different enterprizes, and powerfully attack one side without weakening another.

1642.

Frederick William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope, it is said, of obtaining the duchy of Jagerndorff in Silesia; a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, who had been his governor, since confiscated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague, and the misfortunes of the Palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorrain also improves the assistance of France to restore him to his dominions, which she does, keeping only some fortified towns. This is another support taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. still holds out, notwithstanding all these losses; nor is he abandoned by ei-

ther Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furnish him with soldiers. Torstenson again defeats the Imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by the archduke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe-Lawemburg, and Piccolomini : but this victory is attended with no consequences. He repasses the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays siege to Leipfick : he gains another signal victory in that country, where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfelt the 2d of November. Torstenson enters Leipfick on the 15th of December. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany ; but they had never penetrated to its center, nor to the emperor, who supports himself after more than twenty defeats.

Cardinal Richlieu dies on the 4th of December ; a death that gives some hopes to the house of Austria.

1643.

The Swedes, in the course of this war, had often entered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and quitted them to throw themselves into the eastern provinces. Torstenson would have entered Bohemia ; but, notwithstanding his victories, could never gain his point.

They continued to negotiate still slowly at Hamburg, while the war was pursued very briskly. Lewis XIII. dies on the 14th of May. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace : he flattered himself he should be able to withdraw the Swedes from the French alliance, during the troubles of a minority ; but it happens during the minority of Lewis XIV. though

though very perplexed, as it had under that of Christina, that the war is continued at the expence of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length strengthened by the duke of Lorrain, who joins him after the death of Lewis XIII.

The death of marshal Guebriant, who is killed at the siege of Rothuel, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who perished in the progress of his victories against the Imperialists. It was the emperor's good fortune also that general Mercy should defeat marshal Rantzau, Guebriant's successor, at Dutlingen in Suabia.

These vicissitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Munster and at Osna-brug, where the congress at last is settled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of some Danish ships taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to breathe. This accident might have given the superiority to the emperor, who shews what were his resources, by marching a small part of his army, with Galas at its head, to the assistance of Denmark. But this diversion serves only to ruin Holstein, the stage of this transitory war, and one of the most desolated provinces of Germany. Europe was the more surprised at hostilities between Sweden and Denmark, because Denmark had offered itself as mediator of the general peace; but was now excluded; and Rome and Venice have at length the sole mediation of this peace, which is yet very distant.

The first step taken by count d'Avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Munster, threw the greatest obstacle in the way of

it. He writes to the princes and states of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, to engage them to support their prerogatives, and to share with the emperor and the electors the right of peace and war; a right that had been always contested between the electors and other imperial states. At the diet, these states insisted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the start of the French ministers, who in their letters used some disrespectful terms towards Ferdinand. This occasions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain, and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France, they receive news about that time of a most memorable victory gained over the Spanish-Austrian army, at Rocroi, by the duke d'Enguien, afterwards the great Condé, who in this battle destroys the celebrated Castilian and Walloon infantry, whose reputation had been so very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by such victories, might write in any terms.

1644.

The emperor might still flatter himself that Denmark would declare in his favour; but of this resource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarine, Richlieu's successor, is assiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden: nor is this all; Denmark also engages itself not to assist any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Austrians. The duke d'Enguien, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four

days, between the 5th and 9th of August, in the neighbourhood of Friburg, to general Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himself master of the whole country from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before possessed.

Cardinal Mazarine and the chancellor Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, raise up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the person of Ragotsky, who had been sovereign of Transilvania ever since 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotsky wants neither pretexts nor reasons for his conduct. The Protestants of Hungary persecuted, the privileges of the people despised, and the violation of ancient treaties, form Ragotsky's manifesto, while the money of France supplies him with arms.

In the mean time the Imperialists are pushed hard by Torstenson in Franconia. General Galas flies every-where before him, and before count Konigsmark, who trod already in the steps of the greatest Swedish captains.

1645.

Ferdinand and the archduke Leopold, his relation, were at Prague when the victorious Torstenson enters Bohemia, and obliges them to fly to Vienna.

Torstenson comes up with the Imperial army at Tabor, which was commanded by general Gœuts and John de Werth, who was redeemed out of prison. Gœuts was killed, and John de Werth flies. In short, the rout is complete.

The conqueror marches to, and besieges Brinn; nay, even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of disasters, something always fell out to preserve the emperor. The siege of Brinn had been protracted, and instead of the French marching towards the Danube to join the Swedes, as they were to have done in case they had conquered, viscount Turenne is beaten, on the beginning of his journey, by general Mercy, at Mariendal, and retires to Hesse.

The great Condé marches against Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat, by a most signal victory on the very same plains of Norlinguen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death of Gustavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the success of this bloody battle, which is the less decisive the more it is destructive. The emperor suddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotsky, to prevent the French from marching through Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it through Moravia.

In all probability, while the French and Swedish arms are attended with such mighty prosperity, some rooted vice still prevented their reaping the advantage of such success. The mutual fear which each of these allies had of the other's obtaining the superiority, the failure of money, and the want of recruits, all set bounds to their progress.

After the famous battle of Norlinguen, it was scarcely to be expected that the Austrians and Bavarians should suddenly recover the territories lost by that battle, and that they should pursue even the victorious army of Condé to the Neckar, where he himself was not, but
where

where Turenne remained. Such vicissitudes are frequent in this war.

In the mean time, the emperor, tired with such continual shocks, began to think seriously of peace. He at length gives the elector of Triers his liberty, whose imprisonment had given France a pretext for declaring war: But the French arms re-establish this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the imperial garrison, and the elector of Triers allies himself to France as his benefactor. The elector Palatine might have had the same obligations; but France as yet had done nothing decisive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's safety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almost always borne the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All had thereby been lost. The fear of the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to satisfy Ragotsky. He acknowledges that prince sovereign of Transilvania, a prince of the empire, and restores to him all that he had given to his predecessor Bethleem Gabor. Thus by every treaty is the emperor a loser; and he hastens the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, whereby he is to lose still more.

1646.

Pope Innocent X. was the first mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be considerable losers; the republic of Venice was the second. Cardinal Chigi, afterwards pope by the name of Alexander VII. was the pope's

minister at Munster, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each interested power made propositions according to its hopes or fears; but victories form treaties.

During these first negotiations, marshal Turenne, by an unexpected and bold march, joins the Swedish army upon the Neckar in sight of the archduke Leopold. He advances as far as Munich, and increases the fears of Austria. Another Swedish body marches to ravage Silesia; but all these expeditions are no more than incursions. If the war had been carried on step by step, under the conduct of one single leader, who had always obstinately persisted in the same plan, the emperor had not been in a condition at this time to accomplish the crowning his eldest son Ferdinand, in the month of August, at Prague, and afterwards at Presburg, though this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity; besides, the thrones which his father at that time bestowed, were very unsteady.

1647.

The emperor, in endeavouring to secure these kingdoms to his son, is nearer losing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged, by the misfortunes of the war, to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian his brother-in-law, whose example the elector of Cologne follows. They sign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marshal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to adopt the same conduct; and fear has the same influence on the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. The emperor remains alone, without any one prince daring to take part in his quarrel; nor have we, till this time, a single instance of such a nature in the wars of the empire.

About

FERDINAND III. 133

About this period, Wrangel, a new Swedish general who succeeded Torstenson, takes Egra; and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears so very great, that the elector of Bavaria, notwithstanding his great age, and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot see the head of the empire left without succour, but breaks through the treaty with France. War is made at the same time in different places, according as the armies can subsist. When the emperor has the least advantage, his ministers at the congress demand favourable conditions; but on the least check, are obliged to submit to severe terms.

1648.

The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the house of Austria is not prosperous. Turenne and Wrangel beat his troops and the Austrians at Summarhausen and Lawingen, near the Danube, in spite of the brave resistance of a prince of Wirtemberg and that of Montecuculi, who began already to prove himself worthy to oppose a Turenne. The conqueror possesses himself of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Saltzburg.

In the mean time, count Koningsmark, at the head of the Swedes, surprises Prague in Bohemia. This was a decisive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received, or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer any enemy in Germany but the emperor; all the rest were either allied or subdued, and waited only that the empire should receive laws from the congress at Munster and Osnabrug.

The

The PEACE of WESTPHALIA.

THIS peace of Westphalia, at last signed on the 14th of October 1648, at Munster and Osnabrug, was made, given, and received, *as a fundamental and perpetual law*; such are the exact words of the treaty. It was to serve as the basis of Imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a law as sacred, and as fully received, as the Golden Bull; nay, very much superior to this bull, by the detail of the many interests comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made, as well in religion as civil affairs.

This work had been laboured at incessantly, for more than six years, at Munster and Osnabrug: there had been, however, much time lost in disputing about ceremonials; the emperor refusing to give the title of Majesty to the kings who had triumphed over him. His minister Lutzan, in the first act of 1641, wherein the passports and conferences were settled, spoke of preliminaries *between his Most Sacred Cæsarian Majesty and the Most Serene and Most Christian King*. The King of France, for his part, refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty the court of France had given the title of Majesty to the great Gustavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no superiority but that of victory. The Swedish ministers, at the congress of Westphalia, affected to be put upon a footing with those of France. The plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain insisted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The
new

new states of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings. The term Excellency began now first to be used. The ministers assumed it to themselves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Munster were named his Sacred Imperial Majesty, his Sacred Most Christian Majesty, and the Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of Excellency given him in these conferences; nor do the ambassadors of France give place even to the electors themselves among the princes, and the count d'Avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: "Sir, I have done all I could to serve you." When the king of France addressed them, the states-general of the United Provinces were to be called the Lords of the States; pursuant to which, when count d'Avaux went from Munster to Holland, in 1644, he never addressed them by any title but that of Messieurs; nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the distinction of Excellency. The count d'Avaux also refused it to an ambassador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini because he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by these pretensions and refusals which the Romans called *gloriole*, and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but insist on when they have established one. These customs, titles, ceremonies, superscriptions, and subscriptions of letters, with their different forms, have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a secretary was sufficient

sufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote, established forms, which, passing afterwards into other languages, appeared odd. The emperors before Rodolphus I. sent all their mandates in Latin, *thouing* every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This *thouing* of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language, which disallows such expressions. We find every-where such examples, but they have not even to this day settled a particular precedent.

The mediating ministers were rather witnesses than arbitrators; above all, the nuncio Chigi, who was only there to see the church sacrificed. He sees the diocese of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede, who was a Lutheran; those of Magdeburg, Alberstadt, Minden, and Camin, to the elector of Brandenburg.

The bishopricks of Ratsburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg.

The bishopricks of Osnabrug and of Lubec were not indeed intirely secularized, but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic bishop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the first troubles of religion; but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of fanaticism was extinct.

Liberty of conscience was established all over Germany. The emperor's Lutheran subjects in Silesia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit Protestants into the Aulic council.

The commandries of Malta, the abbeyes and benefices in Protestant countries, were given

to the princes and sovereigns who were at the expence of the war.

How very different were these concessions from the edict of Ferdinand II. who in the time of his prosperity had ordered the restitution of all ecclesiastical possessions. Necessity, and the repose of the empire, ordained this law. The nuncio protested and anathematized. That a mediator should condemn the treaty over which he presided, was before this unknown; but he knew not what other step to take. The pope by his bull "deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the peace of Westphalia, as far as they related to religion." But had he been in the place of Ferdinand, he had ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution in religious, causes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire, being in possession of the Hither Pomerania, the most beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rugen, the town of Wismar, many neighbouring villages, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holstein also hereby gained some territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loses great part of the Hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquisate. He had also Camin, Halberstadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loses Wismar, but he gains the territory of Ratiburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden, which the seven circles were to have discharged; and 600,000 crowns were paid to the princess landgrave of Hesse, to
be

be raised upon the archbishopricks of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Munster, and the abbey of Fulda. Germany, as impoverished by this peace as it had been by the war, could scarcely have paid its protectors dearer.

These afflictions were however healed by the useful regulations made both in commerce and justice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town, as well as of every gentleman, who laid their rights before the congress, as before a supreme court that was to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itself for ever the possession of three bishopricks, and the acquisition of Alsace, Strasburg excepted; but instead of being paid, like Sweden, she is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tirol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alsace and Sundgaw. France paid both for war and peace; but she did not purchase so fine a province dearly. Brisac and its dependencies were also hers, as well as the right to garrison Philipsburg. These two advantages she has since lost; but kept Alsace, which is at length incorporated with that kingdom by Strasburg's having given herself up.

There are few Civilians who do not condemn the wording of the cession of Alsace in this famous treaty of Munster. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up "all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty," and to give up "the prefecture of ten free imperial towns," are two very different things. It is very probable, that the plenipotentiaries saw this difficulty, but did not chuse to fathom it;

well

well knowing, that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove, and power overthrow.

The house of the Palatine was restored to all its rights, except the Higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favour of the Palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went so far as to stipulate the payment of 20,000 crowns, which the emperor was to give to the mother of the count Palatine, Charles Lewis, and 10,000 to each of his sisters. Even he was well received who only came to demand the restitution of a few acres of land. All things were discussed and regulated. There were 140,000 restitutions appointed. The restitution of Lorrain, and the affair of Juliers, submitted to an arbitration. Germany has at last peace, after a war of 30 years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris, in 1647, emboldens Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The states-general, who were to have treated at Munster as well as Spain, make a separate peace with Spain, in spite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the interests which seemed to bind them to their ancient protectors. The Spanish minister made use of a very singular artifice to engage the states to this breach of faith: he persuaded them that he was ready to give the Infanta in marriage to Lewis XIV. with the Low Countries by way of dower. This soon frightened the states into his measures. It was no more than a lye; and indeed, properly speaking,
what

what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important treaty of Westphalia the Roman empire had hardly any share. Sweden had no business to quarrel with the sovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had some points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor: these concerned Pignerol, the succession of Mantua and of Montferrat, which were fiefs of the empire. It was settled that the king of France should pay about 600,000 livres to "Monsieur the duke of Mantua, upon the receipt of Monsieur the duke of Savoy;" provided that he should keep Pignerol and Casal in full and independent sovereignty of the empire. France has since lost these possessions, as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania, have been taken from Sweden; but the treaty of Westphalia, as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained respected, and is still inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION of GERMANY,

*From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, to the
Death of FERDINAND III.*

THUS the chaos of German government was not well settled in less than 1700 years, reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler, before whose time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been restrained to proper limits; most of
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FERDINAND III. 141

the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate noblesse, and of the towns, were not incontestibly fixed till after the treaty of Westphalia. Germany was a grand aristocracy, at the head of which was a king not unlike those of England, Sweden, and Poland, or such a form of government as had been anciently received by the states, founded by the people who came from the North and the East. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

These imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany: they are states belonging to the empire, and not to the emperor: they neither pay the smallest imposts, nor do they contribute to the necessities of the empire, but in the most urgent cases. Their tax is regulated by the general register. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellando*, without appeal, they are absolutely sovereign states. Nevertheless, with all these rights, they have very little power, because they are surrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconveniences annexed to a government so complicated and mixed, in so extended a country, still subsisted; as did the state itself. The multiplicity of sovereignties served to balance each other, until, in the heart of Germany, a power forms itself sufficiently great to swallow up the rest.

This vast country repairs insensibly its losses after the peace of Westphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years these were the most remarkable things that happened to a body every-where
wasted

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wasted and torn ; who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during thirty years.

When it is said, that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns ; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals, to whom they belong ; and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is middling, between a slave and a subject ; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary, like Germany, breathes a little, after so many intestine wars, and such frequent invasions of the Turks ; she standing in need of being recruited, repeopled, and polished ; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then seventeen years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his Serene Highness sign a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be observed that the Hungarians use Serene Highness instead of Majesty ; a title they never give to any but the emperor, or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not so powerful as the German princes : they had neither Swedes nor French to guaranty their privileges : they were rather oppressed than assisted by the Turks ; and for this reason Hungary has been at length intirely subdued, in our time, after new intestine wars.

The emperor, after the treaty of Westphalia, found himself peaceable possessor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony ; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while

the Hungarians thought themselves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tirol. He had no territory in Italy.

The name of the Holy Roman Empire always subsists. It is difficult to define what it is besides Germany, and what Germany is besides the empire. Charles V. had justly foreseen, that if his son Philip II. had not, together with the imperial throne, enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, scarcely more had remained to him than the name of Empire. In effect, when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spanish branch, this branch found itself, at the same time, that it was a titular vassal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuscany and the principal towns in Italy secure themselves in their ancient independence of the emperors. A Cæsar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and states, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We see, in all the course of this history, two great designs carried on for near 800 years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome, and that of the German lords preserving and increasing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III. at his death, in 1657, left the empire, while the Spanish branch of Austria still carried on that long war with France, which was finished by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the Infanta Maria Theresa with Lewis XIV.

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These events are so recent, and so very well known, as well as recited by all historians, that it would be needless to repeat here what nobody is ignorant of. From this situation of affairs, a general idea may be formed of the empire, down from those days to ours.



The STATE of the EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

FORTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

IT is to be remarked, that at first, after the death of Ferdinand III. the empire was near passing out of the house of Austria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themselves obliged to chuse Leopold Ignatius, the son of Ferdinand, who was then eighteen years old; but the good of the state, the neighbourhood of the Turks, and private jealousies, contributed to the election of a prince, whose house was sufficiently powerful to support, but not to enslave the German empire. They had formerly elected Rodolphus de Hapsburg, because he had scarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his posterity, because they had a great deal.

The Turks, still masters of Buda, the French possessors of Alsace, the Swedes of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election necessary; so natural is the idea of æquilibrium amongst all men.

Besides, it was in Leopold's favour that there had been ten emperors successively of the same house;

house ; so many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the ministry of Leopold ; there was no longer any need of seeking a crown at Rome, and still less of exerting the Austrian claims as lord paramount over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turkey, employed the Germans all this reign. These three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulsed, or vanquished, without Leopold's drawing his sword. This prince, the least warlike of his time, always attacked Lewis XIV. when France was in the most flourishing condition ; at first, after the invasion of Holland, when he furnished the United Provinces with an assistance which he had not extended to his own house at the invasion of Flanders ; and some years after, at the peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous league of Augsbourg against Lewis XIV. and at last at the time when, in the most astonishing manner, the king of France's grandson was raised to the Spanish throne.

Leopold, in all these wars, knew how to interest the Germanic body, and to make them declare them wars of the empire. The first was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by these wars, as they had been by the war, which lasted thirty years ; but the frontiers, on the side of the Rhine, were damaged. Lewis XIV. had always the superiority ; nor could it well
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happen otherwise; able ministers, experienced generals, a kingdom every-where united, places well fortified, armies well disciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, must necessarily have the better of a country where these advantages are wanting. It is astonishing that France did not succeed better against armies levied in haste, often ill-paid, and subsisted still worse; the leaders of which were princes who seldom agreed, and who had different interests to pursue. France in this war, which was ended by the treaty of Nimèguen, owed its superiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces, which were but badly united.

Fortune was less unequal in the second war produced by the league of Augsburg. Lewis XIV. had then against him England joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden, that had been so long the ally of France, abandoned her; furnishing troops against her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithstanding there were so many allies, they could scarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they, at the peace of Ryswick, with all their power, force Strasburg from Lewis XIV.

The third war was indeed more prosperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time the king of France was more powerful than ever: he governed Spain in the name of his grandson, and had under him the Spanish Low Countries and Bavaria; besides which, his armies were in the midst of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Hochstedt gave things an intire

tire new face. Leopold died in the following year 1705, convinced that France would be soon crushed, and Alsace reunited to Germany. The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was of the greatest service to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him so vain, ostentatious, and haughty, that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbours, more especially the English.

They impute to him his having had a notion of universal monarchy: but had Leopold inherited the Spanish succession, which he seemed for some time very likely to do, this emperor being then absolute master of Hungary, whose boundaries were very extensive, being very powerful in Germany, possessing Spain and the absolute dominion of one half of Italy, as well as sovereign of the best part of the new world; thus enabled to support the rights and pretensions of the empire, he had effectually appeared to have made the nearest approach to universal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Lewis XIV. because, after the peace of Nimeguen, he seemed inclined to make the three bishopricks depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his issue, who were near reigning over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Lewis XIV. in irritating his neighbours, did infinitely more service to the house of Austria than he could possibly have done hurt to it by his power,

Of HUNGARY and the TURKS, during the Time of LEOPOLD.

LEOPOLD never risked any thing in the wars which he waged from his closet against Lewis XIV. Germany and its allies bore all the burden, and defended his hereditary dominions ; while, on the side of Hungary and the Turks, there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation, that survived the destructions of civil war, or the sabre of the Ottomans : they sword in hand tilled the soil which was still wet with the blood of their ancestors. The lords of these unhappy cantons endeavoured, at one and the same time, to defend their privileges against the authority of their king, and their liberty against the Turk, who, whilst he protected, destroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany ; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thousand Turks march, in 1663, towards Neuhausel. It is true that they were vanquished, the year after, near St. Godardth, upon the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boasted of, but was certainly far from being decisive. What was the consequence of this victory, but a shameful treaty, by which Transilvania, and all the territory of Neuhausel, is yielded to the Turks, who raze to the ground the fortifications

tions of the neighbouring citadels? The Turks give Transilvania to Abassi, or rather settle him in it, and still destroy Hungary, notwithstanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the archduchess, who was afterwards electress of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have some thoughts of choosing a king of their own nation, should Leopold die.

Their projects, their steadiness in supporting their rights, and their conspiracies, cost Serini, Frangipani, Nadasti, and Tattenback, their heads.

The Imperialists seize on the castles of all who had befriended these unfortunate men. The great dignities of palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom, and of the ban of Croatia, are suppressed, and the form of justice gives countenance to rapine. This excess of severity drives them at first into consternation, afterwards into despair. Emerick Tekeli puts himself at the head of the malecontents, and all Upper Austria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte; at which time the court of Vienna soothes the malecontents of Hungary. She re-establishes the office of palatine, confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promises to restore the estates that had been confiscated; but this condescension, after so much severity, wears the appearance of a snare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkish than the Imperial court. He is made prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of 40,000 sequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, assisted by some troops under the command of

the basha of Buda, ravages Silesia; and this basha takes Tokai and Eperies, whilst the sultan Mahomet IV. prepares the most formidable armament that the Ottoman empire had ever made against the Christians.

We do not see how the emperor could have opposed the Turks, had they taken this step before the treaty of Nimeguen; seeing after that his resistance was not very great.

The grand, visier Kara Mustapha, traverses Hungary with above 250,000 foot, 30,000 spahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to so great a multitude. He drives Charles V. duke of Lorrain, every-where before him, and lays siege to Vienna, unresisted.

The SIEGE of VIENNA in 1683; together with its CONSEQUENCES.

THIS siege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of posterity. This town had been in some measure the capital of the Roman empire, and the residence of ten emperors of the house of Austria successively; yet it was neither strong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine could have held out. Vienna and its suburbs contained about 100,000 citizens; two thirds of which at least inhabited the suburbs, which were intirely defenceless. Kara Mustapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by 330,000 men, including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended that it was the grand visier's design to take Vienna
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for himself, and make it the capital of a new kingdom independent of his master. Tekeli, with the Hungarian malecontents, marched on the other side of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was lost, and Vienna threatened on every side. Duke Charles of Lorraine had not above 24,000 fighting men to oppose the Turks, who hasten their march. A slight combat ensues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which serves only to diminish the prince's already weak army.

On the 7th of July, the emperor Leopold, the empress his mother-in-law, the empress his wife; the archdukes, the archduchesses, and all their household, quit Vienna, and retire to Lintz. Two thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in despair. There is nothing to be seen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables; which last fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Lintz brings with it only terror and confusion. The court does not think itself safe there. It flies from Lintz to Passau. The consternation at Vienna increases. The suburbs are burnt, with all the houses of pleasure, the body of the town is hastily fortified, and supplied with ammunition and warlike stores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on the 17th of July, in the suburb of St. Ulric, 50 paces from the counterscarp.

The count de Staremborg, governor of the town, had 17,000 men in garrison, of whom there were not above 8000 effective. Such of the citizens as remained in Vienna, and even the students of the university, were armed.

The professors and scholars mounted guard, and their major was a physician.

To complete the misfortune, they are in want of money, and find the raising of 100,000 rix-dollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorrain had vainly endeavoured to preserve a correspondence between the town and his little army; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repass the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpose, and was far north of the town, while the Turks surrounding it pushed their trenches in open day. He makes head against Tekeli's Hungarians, and protects Moravia; but Moravia as well as Vienna seems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor presses the assistance of Bavaria, Saxony, and the circles; but above all of John Sobiesky, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks while general of the crown, and who owed his throne to his victories. Yet these assistances could not possibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September, they had made a breach in the body of the place six fathoms wide, and it seemed to be absolutely left without any hopes of resource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more easily than Constantinople had done, but the siege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The sluggishness and inactivity of the grand visier, but above all his contempt for the Christians, prevented the siege being carried on with spirit.

The space of ground taken up by his tents, was equal to that of the besieged town. He had baths, gardens, and fountains, and in the midst

midst of the progress of ruin, wantoned in excess of luxury.

John Sobiesky at length passes the Danube, some leagues above Vienna; and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and the circles being also arrived, they make a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Calemberg, at a time that every thing began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Polish armies descend from mount Calemberg, of which the grand visier had forgot to possess himself, extending themselves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of 12,000 horse and 4000 foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander his son was very near him. The infantry of the emperor, and the elector of Saxony, were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorrain commanded the imperialists. The troops of Bavaria amounted to 10,000 men, and those of Saxony to near the same number.

Never were there seen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III. was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince chose rather to serve near the duke of Lorrain as a volunteer. He had received from the emperor, a sword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned, after its deliverance, to Vienna, the young prince saluting him with this very sword, shewed him what a noble use he made of his present. It was the same elector who was afterwards put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe-Lauenburg, sprung from the ancient but unhappy house of Ascania. The infantry was commanded by prince Harman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of 7000, under the conduct of prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army, were three princes of the house of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holstein, a prince of Hesse-Cassel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the house of Wirtemberg; while a third distinguished himself within the town. The emperor only was absent.

This army amounted to 64,000 men: that of the grand vizir to double the number. So that this battle may be reckoned among those which shew that the smaller number has generally the better of the greater, because perhaps there is too much confusion in large armies, and more order in the smaller.

On the 12th of September, Vienna was delivered; and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand vizir left 20,000 men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be assaulted, while he marched against the Christian army. This last assault might have succeeded, as the besieged began to want powder, and most of their cannon was dismounted; but the sight of assistance gave them new strength.

In the mean time, the king of Poland having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing, against the Ottoman army; the duke of Lorraine at the head of the other. Never was battle less bloody.

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or more decisive. Two posts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Christians did not lose above 200 men: the Ottomans scarcely lost a thousand. This was at the close of day, and fear spread itself with the night into the vizir's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and stupidity, arising from their long security, that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving even behind them Mahomet's great standard. Nothing can equal the vizir's errors in this battle, except that of leaving him unpursued.

The king of Poland sent Mahomet's standard to the pope. The Germans and the Polanders were considerably enriched by the Turkish spoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French woman, daughter to the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand vizir had made him his heir; and that he had found in his tent to the value of several millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he says: 'You cannot address me as the wives of the Tartars do their husbands, when they see them come home empty-handed, 'you are not a man, since you return without booty.'

The day following, being the 13th of September, king John Sobiesky causes *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral church of Vienna, and officiates in it himself. This ceremony was followed by a sermon, the preacher of which took for his text these words: "There was a man sent by God, and his name was John." The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king, and to kiss the hands of their deliverer;

as he relates himself. The emperor arrives there on the 14th, amidst acclamations which were not for him. He visits the king of Poland without the walls, and there is great difficulty to conduct ceremonials, at a time when acknowledgement ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happiness of John Sobiesky, had like to have been eclipsed by a disaster which was scarce to be expected, after so easy a victory. Being about to subdue Hungary, he intended to march through Gran, now Strigonia, in which progress he was to pass by Barcam, where was lodged a considerable body of troops, under the command of a basha. The king of Poland, without staying for the duke of Lorrain, who followed him, advanced near the place with his *gen d'armes*. Here the Turks fell upon the Polish troops, charged them in the flank, slaying 2000 of them. The vanquisher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly: he is pursued; and with difficulty escapes, leaving his cloke in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles of Lorrain at length comes to his assistance; and, to the glory of having seconded John Sobiesky, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobiesky himself.

Hungary, on each side of the Danube, as far as Strigonia, soon falls again into the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks near 550 years. They twice attempt the siege of Buda, and carry the place by assault in 1686. This was but the consequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorrain and the elector of Bavaria, defeat the Ottomans in those very

plains of Mohats, where Lewis II. king of Hungary had perished in 1526, while Soliman II. conqueror of the Christians, covered the plains with 25,000 dead.

Divisions and seditions at Constantinople, with the revolts of the Turkish armies, fought also in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The insurrection of the Janisaries, the deposing of the weak Mahomet IV. Solyman III. advanced to the throne from a prison in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, disheartened and flying before a small number of Germans, were all occurrences favouring Leopold. A warlike emperor, seconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the siege of Constantinople, after having been upon the point of losing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to revenge the fear into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His ministers pretend, that it would be impossible to confine the Turkish insolence within bounds, unless Hungary was re-united under an absolute dominion. Yet they repelled the Turks from Vienna, with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and Lorrain, and other German princes, who are under no despotic yoke; particularly with the Polish allies. The Hungarians might then serve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were too many factions in Hungary; the Turks were not the men to make the treaties of Westphalia in favour of this kingdom; and if they were not now in a condition to oppress the Hungarians, neither could they assist them.

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The only congress between the Hungarian male-contents and the emperor is a scaffold ; it is erected in the market-place of Eperies, in the month of March, 1687, and kept standing to the end of the year.

If some of the cotemporary historians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of sacrificing the victims which were without much distinction delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a massacre so long and so terrible : there have been equal severities, but none of such continuance. Humanity does not shudder at the numbers that fall in battle : it is common ; they die sword in hand, and are revenged : but for nine long months, that people should see their countrymen dragged as it were legally to open butchery, must be shocking to human nature, and so barbarous a sight as to fill the soul with horror.

That which is more terrible for the people is, that these cruelties sometimes succeed ; and the success of them encourages tyrants to use men like wild beasts.

Hungary was subdued, the Turks twice repulsed, Transilvania conquered, and in the hands of the Imperialists. At length, while the scaffold is still standing at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are summoned to Vienna, where, in the name of the whole people, they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary ; the states afterwards assemble at Presburg, where they confirm the decree : and Joseph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years old.

Leopold was, at this time, the most powerful emperor who had been since Charles V. Many
happy

happy circumstances concurred to enable him at once, to continue the war against France till the treaty of Ryswick, and against Turkey till the peace of Carlowitz concluded in 1699. Both of these were of advantage to him. He treated with Lewis XIV. at Ryswick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. These successes gave Leopold a manifest superiority in the diets of Germany, which, though it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.



Of the ROMAN EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

GERMANY, under this reign, renews the bonds in which it had heretofore held Italy; for in that war which was ended at Ryswick, while Leopold in league with the duke of Savoy, as well as with so many other princes against France, sent troops towards the Rhine, he required contributions of all that did not belong to Spain. The states of Tuscany, of Venice on the Terra Firma, the Genoese, and even the pope, paid more than 30,000 pistoles. In the beginning of the century, when it happened that the provinces of the Spanish monarchy were disputed with Lewis XIV's grandson, Leopold exerted the imperial authority in proscribing the duke of Mantua, and giving the Mantuan Montserrat to the duke of Savoy.

160 Of the ROMAN EMPIRE,

It was also as Roman emperor, he gave the elector of Brandenburg the title of king. That the king of Germany should make kings, was never agreed among nations; but ancient custom had admitted princes to receive the title of king from him, whom the custom aforesaid calls the successor of Cæsar.

Thus the chief of Germany having this name, bestows names, and Leopold makes a king, without consulting the three colleges. But when he created a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover, he created this German dignity with the consent of four electors*, as chief of Germany. Yet could he not fix him in the college of electors, where the duke of Hanover did not obtain a seat till after Leopold's death.

It is true that in all capitulations, Germany is called the Empire. But this is an abuse of words authorised by time. The emperors in their capitulations swear, "that they will not bring any troops into the empire, without consent of the electors, princes, and states." But it is clear by this word Empire, they then understood Germany, and not Milan, and Mantua; for the emperor sends troops to Milan without consulting any body. Germany is called the empire, as the seat of the Roman empire; a strange revolution, which Augustus could never have suspected. An Italian lord addresses himself without difficulty to the diet of Ratisbon; he addresses himself, dur-

* The duke of Hanover had no friends in the electoral college, but the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; all the rest, together with the college of the cities, opposed his advancement with great warmth.

ring the vacancy of the throne, to the electors of Saxony, of Bavaria, and to the Palatine; he obtains titles and territories when there is no body to oppose him. The pope indeed does not demand a confirmation of his election of the diet, but the duke of Mantua presents him a petition, when Leopold puts him under the ban of the empire in 1700. This empire is then the right of the strongest, the right of opinion founded on the happy incursions of Charles V. and Otho into Italy.

The diet of Ratisbon is become perpetual under the same Leopold, ever since 1664. This, which one would think, should have increased its power, contributes to its weakness. Neither the princes who formerly made up this august assembly, nor the electors, assist any longer at the coronation. They send deputies to the diet, and one deputy acts for two or three princes. The treating of weighty matters is either forgot or neglected, and Germany is secretly divided under the appearance of union.

OF GERMANY,

In the times of JOSEPH and of
CHARLES VI.

THE emperor Joseph was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, by all the electors, when only 12 years old, in the year 1690; an evident proof of the authority of his father Leopold; a proof of the great security the electors were in with respect to their rights, which they would not have sacrificed, a proof
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of the firm agreement between all the states of Germany and their chief; which the power of Lewis XIV. had cemented more strongly than ever.

In this capitulation he promises to observe the treaty of Westphalia, in every thing but where the advantage of France is concerned.

The reign of Joseph was still happier than that of Leopold. The money of the English and Dutch, the success of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, make him every where victorious, and his good fortune makes him almost absolute. He begins by putting under the ban of the empire, in consequence of his own authority, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, because they were the partizans of France, and he seizes on their dominions. He gives the Higher Palatinate to that branch of the Palatine which had lost it under Ferdinand II. and at the peace of Rastadt and of Baden, he afterwards restores it to the Bavarian branch.

He acts in reality like a Roman emperor in Italy. He confiscates the Mantuan for his own use; he at first takes the Milanese for himself, which he afterwards gives to the archduke his brother: but he keeps the towns and revenues of it, by dividing from this country, Alexandria, Valenza, and Lomelina in favour of the duke of Savoy, on whom, to secure him in his interest, he bestows the investiture of Montferrat. He plunders the duke of Mirandola, and gives his possessions to the duke of Modena. Charles V. had not been more absolute in Italy; nor had Clement VII. been more alarmed, than was now Clement XI. Joseph
goes

goes to deprive him of the duchy of Ferrara, in order to restore it to the house of Modena, from which the pope had taken it.

His armies, possessing Naples in the name of the archduke his brother, and Bologna, Ferrara, and part of Romagna in his own name, already threatened Rome. It was certainly the pope's interest that there should be a balance in Italy; but this balance, victory had destroyed. All the princes were summoned, and all possessors of fiefs to produce their titles. The duke of Parma, who held at that time of the holy see, had but fifteen days allowed him to do homage to the emperor. At Rome was distributed a manifesto attacking the temporal power of the pope, and annulling all the donations which the emperors had made, without the concurrence of the empire. It is certain, that if by this manifesto they subjected the pope to the emperor, they also rendered the emperors dependent upon the imperial decrees of the Germanic body: but reasons and arms are at one time used, which at another are rejected; and all they endeavoured at present was having some title to rule in Italy as cheaply as they could.

All the princes were astonished. It was scarcely to be expected, that thirty-four cardinals should at this time have the boldness and generosity to do that, which neither Venice, Florence, Genoa, nor Parma, dared to undertake. They raised a little army at their own expence; one laying down 100,000 crowns, another 24,000, this sending 100 horse, and that 50 foot.

The peasants were armed. But the sole consequence of this undertaking was, their submitting.

mitting sword in hand, to the terms prescribed by Joseph. The pope was obliged to disband his army, to preserve no more than 5000 men in the ecclesiastical state; to subside the imperial troops, to abandon to them Comacchio, and to acknowledge the archduke Charles king of Spain. In 1709 he deprives the duke of Savoy of the Vigenevasque and the fief of Langues; nor yet does that prince dare to quit his party.

Joseph dies, aged 33, in the year 1711, amidst all his prosperity. Charles VI. his brother, succeeded him, and found himself master of all Hungary in a state of subjection; the hereditary dominions of Germany, which were very flourishing; the Milanese, the Mantuan, Naples, Sicily, and the nine provinces of the Low Countries; and had the propositions made in the year 1709 by France, then very much weakened, been listened to, Charles VI. had been also master of Spain and the New World. It was then that there was no balance of power in Europe. The English, who had fought for this balance only, murmur against queen Anne for re-establishing it by the peace of Utrecht; so much did hatred against Lewis XIV. prevail over real interest. Thus, after the particular peace of Rastadt and of Baden, Charles VI. is the most powerful prince in Europe.

But as powerful as he was when he took possession of the empire, the Germanic body supported, nay augmented, their rights more than ever. The capitulation of Charles VI. implies, that no German prince or state shall be put under the ban of the empire, but by the consent of the three colleges, &c. They yet recalled

recalled in this capitulation the treaty of Westphalia, which had always been regarded as a fundamental law.

Germany was quiet and flourishing under the reign of this last Austrian emperor; for the war of 1716 against the Turks was only waged upon the Ottoman frontiers, and nothing could have been more glorious.

Prince Eugene there increased the vast reputation which he had before acquired in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. The victory of Peterwaradin, and the taking of Temiswaer, signalized the campaign in 1716. The year following he had still more surprising successes; for in besieging Belgrade, prince Eugene found himself surrounded in his camp by 150,000 Turks. He was circumstanced like Cæsar at the siege of Alexia, or of the Czar Peter near Pruth. He did not imitate the Russian emperor, who demanded peace; but, Cæsar like, defeated his numerous enemies, and took the town. He returned to Vienna covered with glory, where they talked of trying him for having hazarded that state which he had saved, and whose boundaries he had enlarged. An advantageous peace was the fruit of these victories. The system of Germany was not at all broken in upon either by the war or the peace, which augmented the emperor's dominions, and confirmed the Germanic constitution. Charles XII. king of Sweden's disgraces add to the possessions of the houses of Brandenburg and Hanover. The Germanic body was become still more considerable. The treaty of Westphalia received in reality a blow by these acquisitions; but all the rights which the states of Germany had acquired by
this

this treaty, were preserved by taking some provinces from the Swedes, to whom they partly owed those very rights which they enjoyed. The three religions established in Germany maintained themselves peaceably under the shade of their privileges, and slight inevitable differences no longer gave rise to civil troubles.

It ought principally to be observed, that Germany was entirely changed under Leopold, Joseph, and Charles VI. Their manners before this were rude, their lives unpolished, the sciences almost unknown, as well as convenient magnificence. There was scarcely one town well built, nor a house erected upon the regular and noble principles of architecture; neither gardens, nor manufactures of merchandize or taste. The northern provinces were entirely uncultivated; a thirty years war had ruined them. Germany was more altered in sixty years, than she had been from Otho to Leopold.

Charles VI. was constantly happy to 1734. The celebrated victories gained by prince Eugene over the Turks at Temeswaer and at Belgrade, had enlarged the frontiers of Hungary. The emperor predominated in Italy, where he possessed Naples and Sicily, the Milanese, and the Mantuan. The imperial and supreme right over Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which had been so long contested, were confirmed to him by his giving the investiture of these states to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. who thereby became his vassal. The imperial rights exercised in Italy by Leopold and by Joseph, were then in their full vigour; and certainly, if an emperor had kept so many possessions in Italy, so many rights, with so many pretensions, the 700 years

years struggle of the Italian liberty against the German power might have easily been finished by its subjection.

These prosperities were limited by the use which Charles VI. made of his credit in Europe, by procuring jointly with Russia the throne of Poland to Augustus III.

This was a singular revolution, whereby he lost for ever Naples and Sicily, and enriched the king of Sardinia at his own expence, in order to give a king to Poland. Nothing shews better the fatality that presides over events, and mocks the foresight of man. It was his good fortune twice to have conquered 150,000 Turks; yet Naples and Sicily were taken from him by only 10,000 Spaniards in one campaign.

In the year 1700, could it have been possibly imagined that Stanislaus should, forty-four years after, have Lorrain in exchange for losing the crown of Poland; and that, for the very same reason, Tuscany should be given to the house of Lorrain? If one reflects on the many events which have disturbed and transformed states, it will appear that scarce any thing happens according to people's expectations, or as politicians have designed.

The latter years of Charles VI. were yet more unhappy: he imagined, because prince Eugene had defeated the Turks with inferior German armies, much more easily might they be beaten by the Germans and Russians joined. But alas! he had no longer a prince Eugene; and while the armies of the Czarina Anne take Crimea, enter Walachia, and propose penetrating to Adrianople, the Germans were defeated. A disadvantageous peace succeeds. Belgrade,
Temeswaer,

Temefwaer, Orfova. and all the country between the Danube and the Save, remain to the Ottomans. All the fruits of prince Eugene's conquests are thus lost, and the emperor's only resource is that of imprisoning the unfortunate generals; striking off the heads of such officers as had surrendered the towns, and punishing those who, pursuant to his orders, had clapped up a necessary peace.

He died soon after. The revolutions which ensued, are matter for another history, and the wounds, which still bleed, are too fresh to be probed.

A philosophical reader, after having run thro' this long succession of emperors, might reflect, that among them all, Frederick III. only lived 75 years, as Lewis XIV. only, among the kings of France; whilst, among the popes, we see numbers of lives stretched beyond 84; not that the laws of nature in general make life longer in Italy than in Germany or France, but because popes are commonly more abstemious than kings, and that there are more popes than either emperors or kings of France.

The duration of the reigns of the emperors, which have passed in review before us, serves to confirm the rule which Newton has laid down for the reformation of ancient chronology. He supposes the generations of the sovereigns of old to make out, one with another, twenty one years each; and indeed the fifty emperors from Charlemagne to Charles VII. forming a period of near a thousand years, admits each of them to have reigned about twenty years. We can reduce this Newtonian rule still more in states subject to frequent revolutions. With-
out

out going higher than the Roman Empire, we shall find, in the space of 500 years, about 90 reigns; that is, from Cæsar to Augustulus.

Another important reflection occurs; and that is, that there seems to be scarcely one emperor from the time of Charlemagne, who may be said to have been happy. The lustre of Charles V. eclipses that of all his predecessors; yet he, wearied with continual checks in life, and tired with the plagues of such a compounded administration, rather than disgusted with the nothingness of grandeur, secludes a premature old age in an obscure retreat.

We have not long since seen an emperor master of the most respectable qualities, sustain the most violent turns of fortune, while nature conducts him to the grave, even in the prime of life, by the most cruel disorders.

This history is scarcely any more than a vast scene of weaknesses, faults, crimes, and misfortunes; among which we find some virtues and some successes; as fertile vallies are often seen among chains of rocks and precipices. This is likewise the case with other histories.

OF THE
KINGS of BOHEMIA.

From the End of the 13th Century.

OTTOCARUS, son to king Wenceslaus, the Blind, killed in 1280, fighting against the emperor Rodolphus.

Wenceslaus the Elder, after the death of his father, is placed under the guardianship of Otho of Brandenburg in 1305.

Wenceslaus the Younger dies, about a year after his father, of debauchery.

Henry, duke of Carinthia, earl of Tirol, brother-in-law of Wenceslaus the Younger, is stripped twice of his kingdom; first by Rodolphus of Austria, son of Albert I. afterwards by John of Luxemburg, son of the emperor Henry VII.

John of Luxemburg, master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, killed at the battle of Creci, in France, in 1346.

The emperor Charles IV.

The emperor Wenceslaus.

The emperor Sigismund.

The emperor Albert of Austria.

Ladislaus, the posthumous son of the emperor Albert of Austria, dies in 1457, at the same time that Magdalene, daughter to Charles VII. king of France, is on the road from Germany to be married to him.

George Podibrad, vanquished by Matthias of Hungary, dies in 1471.

Ladislaus of Poland, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, dies in 1516.

Lewis, son of Ladislaus, also king of Hungary and Bohemia, is killed fighting against the Turks, aged only 20 years.

The

The EELCTORS of MENTZ. 171

The emperor Ferdinand I. and after him the emperors of the house of Austria.

The ELECTORS of MENTZ.

From the End of the 13th Century.

VERNIER count de Falkenstein, he who best supported his pretensions to the town of Erfort, dies in 1284.

Henry Kenoderer, a Franciscan frier, confessor to the emperor Rodolphus, dies in 1288.

Gerrard, baron d'Eppenstein, who fought at that battle in which Adolphus of Nassau was killed, dies in 1305.

Peter Aichspalt, a citizen of Triers, physician to Henry of Luxemburg, who cured pope Clement V. of a disorder thought to be mortal, dies in 1320.

Matthias, count de Burgeck, dies in 1328.

Baldwin, brother to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, holds Triers and Mentz for three years. This is the only example of the kind.

Henry, count de Verneburg, excommunicated by Clement VI. supports himself by war, and dies in 1353.

Gerlach de Nassau dies 1371.

John de Luxemburg, count de St. Paul, dies in 1373.

Adolphus de Nassau, to whom Charles IV. gave the little town of Hœchst, dies in 1390.

Conrad of Vinsburg, who causes the Vaudois to be burned, dies in 1396.

John of Nassau (this is he who deposed the emperor Wenceslaus,) dies in 1409

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Conrad, count de Rens, beaten by the landgrave of Hesse, died in 1413.

Theodore d'Urback : he ought to have contributed to the protection of printing, invented in his time at Mentz, dies in 1459.

Ditrich count of Isenburg, and an Adolphus of Nassau, long dispute sword in hand for the archbishoprick. Isenburg yields the electorate to his competitor Nassau in 1463.

Adolphus dies in 1475.

Ditrich reassumes the electoral see, builds the castle of Mentz, and dies in 1482.

Albert of Saxony dies in 1484.

Bertoldus of Henneberg, the principal author of the league of Suabia, and great reformer of religious houses, dies in 1504. Gualtieri falsely asserts that he died of a disorder but little befitting an archbishop.

James of Libenstein dies in 1508.

Uriel de Guimenguen dies in 1514.

Albert of Brandenburg, son of the elector John, at the same time archbishop of Mentz, of Magdeburg, and of Halberstadt, who desired much a cardinal's cap, dies in 1545.

Sebastian de Hovenstein, doctor of the laws, in whose time Mentz is burned by a prince of Brandenburg, dies in 1555.

Daniel Brandel de Homburg dies in 1582, leaving behind him a name valued and respected.

Wolfgang of Dalburg : he deprives himself of the pleasures of the chase, because it damages the lands of his subjects, and dies in 1601.

John Adam of Bicken : he assists in France at the dispute between cardinal du Perron and de Mornai : he dies in 1604.

John Schweighard de Cronberg, persecuted a great while by the prince of Brunswick, the

The ELECTORS of COLOGN. 173

friend of God, and the foe to the priests, delievered by the arms of Tilli, and dies in 1626.

George Frederick de Grieffenclau, principal author of the famous edict of the restitution of benefices which caused the thirty years war, dies in 1629.

Anselmo Casimir Wambold of Umstadt, driven out by the Swedes, dies in 1647.

John Philip of Schœnbron brings the town of Erfort under his subjection by the help of the French arms and the emperor Leopold's diploma : he dies in 1673.

Lotharius Frederick, of Metternich, forced to cede his lands to the elector Palatine, dies in 1675.

Damien Hartard *von der Lien* : he builds the palace of Mentz, and dies in 1678.

Charles Henry, of Metternich, dies in 1689.

Anselmo Francis, of Ingelheim, on whose town the French seize, dies in 1695.

Lothario Francis, of Schœnbron, coadjutor in 1694, respected by all his cotemporaries, dies in 1729.

Francis Lewis, count Palatine, dies in 1732.

Philip Charles, of Eltz, dies in 1743.

John Frederick Charles, count d'Holstein.

The ELECTORS of COLOGN.

ENGELBERG count de Walkenstein, a good soldier, but an unhappy archbishop, taken in war by the inhabitants of Cologn, dies about the 1274.

Sifroi count de Vesterbuch, not less a soldier, and more unfortunate than his predecessor, a prisoner of war for seven years, dies in 1298.

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Vickbold de Holt, another warrior, but more happy, dies in 1305.

Henry count de Vinnanbuch, disputes the electorate, and carries it from two competitors : he dies in 1338.

Valrame count de Juliers, a pacific prince, dies in 1352.

Guill de Geneppe, who heaped and left behind him great treasures, dies in 1362.

John de Virnenburg forces the chapter to elect him, and squanders all the treasures of his predecessors : dies in 1363.

Adolphus count de la March resigns the archbishoprick in 1364 : is made count of Cleves, and has children.

Enchelberg count de la March, canon of Falkenstein, coadjutor to the former, and at the same time archbishop of Triers, governs Cologn for three years, and is obliged to resign it in 1370. There was brought to Cologn, while he governed, a body quite fresh of one of the Innocents massacred by Herod, which gives fresh credit to the relics preserved in that town.

Frederic count de Sarverden, a peaceable prince, dies in 1414.

Theodore count de Mœurs, disputes the archbishoprick with William of Ravensberg, bishop of Paderborn ; but this bishop of Paderborn being married, both dioceses fall to the count de Mœurs. He also enjoys Halberstadt, and dies in 1457.

Robert of Bavaria makes use of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to assist him in subjecting Cologn, but is at last forced to fly, and dies in 1480.

Herman

The ELECTORS of COLOGN. 175

Herman landgrave of Hesse, who governed some years in the time of Robert of Bavaria, dies in 1508.

Philip, count d'Oberstein, dies in 1515.

Herman de Veda, or Neuvin, turns Lutheran, after being bishop thirty-two years, and dies in retirement in 1556.

Antony, brother to Adolphus bishop of Liege, and of Utrecht, dies in 1558.

John earl of Mansfelt, born a Lutheran, dies in 1562.

Frederick de Veda abdicates in 1568, reserving to himself 30,000 florins of gold yearly: it is never paid him, and he dies miserably.

Salentinus count of Isenburg, after having governed ten years, assembles the chapter and nobility, when reproaching them with the ingratitude wherewith they had repaid the pains he had taken with them, he abdicates the archbishoprick, and weds a countess de la March.

Gebhard Truchses de Walburg quits his archbishoprick for the beautiful Agnes de Mansfelt, which father Kolbs calls his Sacrilegious Spouse. This father Kolbs was not polite. He dies in 1612.

Ferdinand, his land having been ravaged by the great Gustavus, dies in 1650.

Maximilian Henry succeeds cardinal Mazarine in his retreat, and dies in 1688.

Joseph Clement, who carried the electorate from cardinal de Furstemberg, dies in 1723.
Augustus Clement.

ELECTORS of TRIERS

HENRY de Vestigen subdues Coblantz; dies in 1286.

Bœmond de Vansberg destroys the castles of the rebel barons, and dies in 1299.

Ditrich de Nassau cited to Rome to answer complaints made by his clergy, who afterwards refuse him burial, dies in 1307.

Baldwin of Luxemburg, who joins Philip de Valois against Edward III. dies in 1354.

Bohemond de Sarbruck, who has in his old days great disputes with the Palatine, dies in 1368.

Conrad of Falkenstein makes great foundations, and resigns the electorate to his nephew, in spite of the canons: he dies in 1388.

Vermer de Konigsten, nephew to the last, reduces Vezel with artillery, and is almost always at war: he dies in 1418.

Otho de Zeigenheim, beaten by the Hussites, dies on the expedition in 1430.

Raban de Helmstadt, always at war with his neighbours, pawns his possessions, and dies insolvent in 1439.

James de Sirck: the ravaged electorate of Triers not being sufficient to subsist him, he is made bishop of Metz, and dies in 1456.

John de Baden (it was he who concluded the marriage between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy) dies in 1501.

James de Baden, umpire between Cologne and the archbishop, dies in 1511.

Richard de Wolfrat, who for a long time takes part with Francis I. against Charles V. in their struggle for the empire, dies in 1531.

John

The ELECTORS of TRIERS. 177

John de Metzenhausen encourages the sciences, and improves his territory : dies in 1540.

John Lewis, of the Hague, dies in 1547.

John d'Isenburg, under whom Triers suffers much from the Lutheran arms, dies in 1556.

John de Leyen (he besieged Triers) dies in 1567.

James de Els (he subdues Triers) dies in 1581.

John de Schonberg, in whose time the garment of Jesus Christ was found at Triers, but whence it came is not exactly known, dies in 1599.

Lothario de Metternick joins briskly the Catholic league, and dies in 1623.

Philip Christopher of Sotern : he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and furnished France with a sufficient pretext to declare war against Spain : he was restored to his see by the victory of Conde and Turenne : he dies in 1652, aged 87 years.

Charles Gaspar de Leyen, driven out of his capital by the arms of France, but restored by the defeat of marshal Crequi, dies in 1676.

John Hugo d'Orsbeck : he sees Triers almost quite destroyed by the French ; the war was always dreadful : he dies in 1711.

Charles Joseph of Lorraine, coadjutor in 1710, suffers still more by the war : dies anno 1715.

Francis Lewis, count Palatine, bishop of Breslau and Worms, grand master of the Teutonic order, dies anno 1729.

Francis George de Schonbron.

The ELECTORS PALATINE.

From the end of the 13th Century.

LEWIS dies anno 1285, his father Otho was the first count Palatine of this house. Rodolphus, son of Lewis, and brother to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, dies in England in 1319.

Adolphus the Simple dies in 1327.

Rodolphus II. brother to Adolphus the Simple, and son to Rodolphus I. father-in-law to the emperor Charles IV. dies in 1353.

Robert the Red dies in 1390.

Robert the Stubborn dies in 1398.

Robert the emperor.

Lewis the Bearded and the Pious dies in 1436.

Lewis the Virtuous dies in 1449.

Frederick the Warlike, Philip's tutor, enjoys the electorate though his pupil is alive: he dies in 1476.

Philip, son of Lewis the Virtuous, dies in 1508.

Lewis, son of Philip, dies in 1544.

Frederic the Wise, brother to Lewis, dies in 1556.

Otho Henry, Philip's grand-son, dies in 1559.

Frederic III. of the branch of Simmeren, dies in 1576.

Lewis VI. son of Frederick, dies in 1583.

Frederick, IVth of that name, grand-son to Lewis, dies in 1610.

Frederick, Vth of that name, son of Frederick IV. allied to James I. king of Bohemia, but driven out of his dominion, dies in 1632.

Charles Lewis, re-established in the Palatine, dies anno 1680.

Charles,

The ELECTORS PALATINE. 179

Charles, son to the preceding, dies without issue in 1685.

Philip William, of the branch of Neuburg, father-in-law to Leopold, to the king of Spain, and to the king of Portugal, dies anno 1690.

John William, son of Charles Philip, born in 1658; his country was destroyed by the war of 1689, and, at the peace of Ryswick, the lands, which the house of Orleans disputed with him, were adjudged by the pope's decisive sentence to this elector: he dies in 1716.

Charles Philip, the last elector of the house of Neuburg, dies in 1742.

Christian Philip Theodore de Sultzbach.

The ELECTORS of SAXONY.

ALBERT II. great-grand-son of Albert the Bear, of the house of Anhalt, succeeds his ancestors in 1260, and governs Saxony thirty-seven years, dies in 1297.

Rodolphus I. son of the said Albert, dies in 1356.

Rodolphus II. son of Rodolphus I. dies in 1370.

Wenceslaus, a younger brother of Rodolphus II. dies in 1388.

Rodolphus III. son of Wenceslaus, dies in 1419.

Albert III. brother to Rodolphus III. the last elector of the house of Anhalt, which had possessed Saxony two hundred and twenty-seven years, dies in 1422.

Frederick I. of the house of Misnia, surnamed the Warlike, dies in 1428.

Frederick the Affable dies in 1464.

Ernest Frederick the Religious dies in 1486.

180 ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG.

Frederick the Wise dies in 1525, it is he who is said to have refused the empire.

John, surnamed the Constant, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1532.

John Frederick the Magnanimous dies in 1554, dispossessed of his electorate by Charles V. from him the branches of Gotha and Weimar are descended.

Maurice, cousin in the fifth degree to John Frederick, invested by Charles V. dies in 1563, Augustus the Pious, brother to Maurice, dies in 1586.

Christian, son to Augustus the pious, dies in 1591. Frederick William, ten years administrator, dies in 1602.

Christian II. son to Christian I. dies in 1611.

John George, brother of Christian, dies in 1656.

John George II. dies in 1680.

John George III. dies in 1691.

John George IV. dies in 1694.

Augustus, king of Poland, dispossessed of the kingdom by the successes of Charles XII. and restored by the said Charles's misfortune, dies in 1733.

Frederick Augustus II. elector and king of Poland.

ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG

After divers electors of the houses of Ascania, Bavaria, and of Luxembourg.

FREDERICK de Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, buys the marquifate of Brandenburg from the emperor Sigismund for one hundred thousand golden florins, repurchased by the same emperor, he dies in 1400.

John I. son of Frederic, abdicates in favour of his brother, anno 1464: he is not taken notice of in the Memoirs of Brandenburg, so that he is not to be looked upon as elector.

Frederick with the Iron Teeth, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1471.

Albert the Achilles, brother to the two latter; it is pretended that he abdicated in 1476, and that he died in 1486.

John, surnamed the Cicero, son of Albert the Achilles, dies in 1499.

Joachim I. Nestor, the son of John, dies in 1535.

Joachim II. Hector, son of Joachim I. dies in 1571.

John George, son of Joachim II. dies in 1598.

Joachim Frederick, son of John George, administrator of Magdeburg, dies in 1608.

John Sigismund, son of Joachim Frederick, divides the succession of Cleves and Juliers with the house of Neuburg, dies in 1619.

George William, whose dominions were laid waste by the thirty years war, dies in 1640.

Frederick William, who re-establishes his country, dies in 1688.

Fre-

182 ELECTORS, &c.

Frederick, who erects into a kingdom part of the province of Prussia of which he was duke, and which had formerly held of Poland, dies in 1713.

Frederick William II. king of Prussia, who re-peoples the intirely ruined lands of Prussia, dies in 1740.

Frederick III. king of Prussia.

The ELECTORS of BAVARIA.

MAXIMILIAN, created in 1623, and at that time ranked among the electors, the first after the king of Bohemia, dies in 1651. Ferdinand Maria, his son, died in 1679.

Maximilian Maria, who was of great service in delivering Vienna from the Turks; he signalized himself at the sieges of Baden and Belgrade; was put under the ban of the empire by the emperor Joseph in 1706, and restored by the peace of Baden, he dies in 1726.

Charles Albert, his son, emperor, dies in 1745.

Charles Maximilian Joseph, son of Charles Albert.

The ELECTORS of HANOVER.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS, duke of Brunswic and Hanover, &c. created by the emperor Leopold in 1692, upon condition that he should furnish six thousand men against the Turks, and three thousand against France, he dies in 1698.

George

The ELECTORS of HANOVER. 183

George Lewis, son of the former, received in the electoral college at Ratisbon in 1708, with the title of arch-treasurer of the empire, made king of England in 1714, he dies in 1727. George II. his son, also king of England.

A L E T.

A L E T T E R

From the AUTHOR

TO her SERENE HIGHNESS,
THE DUCHESS DOWAGER
OF SAXE-GOTHA.

MADAM,

Calmar, March 8, 1754.

YOUR august name has adorned the beginning of these Annals, permit that it may crown the end ; this little abridgment was begun in your palace, with the assistance of the old manuscript of my Essay upon Universal History, which had lain there a long time ; and though this manuscript was no more than a very indigested collection of materials, I nevertheless made it useful. I had already caused the first volume of the Annals of the Empire to be printed, when I was informed, that some loose sheets of this old manuscript had fallen into the hands of a bookseller at the Hague.

These loose sheets, without either order or connexion, doubtless transcribed by an ignorant hand, disfigured and falsified, were, to my great concern, reprinted several times at Paris and elsewhere.

Your serene highness has signified your resentment upon this account in your letters to me.

me. You know how very much the real manuscript, which is in your possession, differs from the fragments that have been published. It is my duty, loudly to reprove and condemn such an abuse; and above four months since I acquitted myself of this obligation in the letter to a professor of history, prefixed to the Annals. And I now, Madam, repeat this just protestation, under your favourable protection.

With respect to this small abridgment of the Annals of the Empire, undertaken by your serene highness's orders, these orders themselves; and the desire of pleasing you, would have rendered the truth still more dear and sacred to me, were she not so by her own intrinsic worth.

This truth, to which our illustrious de Thou has sacrificed, which heaped upon him so much affliction, and makes his memory so valuable, can it hurt me, in an age much more enlightened than his?

What weak fanatic can reproach me with having respected the three religions authorized in the empire? what fool would have had me play the controvertist, instead of writing as an historian? I am confined to facts. These facts are proved; they are authentic. A thousand pens have been employed about them. No just man can complain. A great queen aptly spoke thus of an historian: "They point out to us our duty by speaking of the faults of our predecessors. The truth is hid from us by those who surround us, and revealed to us by none but historians."

There have been emperors, unjust and cruel; popes and bishops, unworthy of their station. Who is there doubts it? It is the consolation of
the

the world to have faithful annals, which excite to virtue, by exposing its crimes. What is it to the wise emperor who reigns in our days, that Henry V. and Henry VI. were cruel? What is it to the enlightened, the just, the moderate pontiff, who now fills the throne of Rome, that Alexander VI. has left behind him an odious memory? The horrors of past ages are the eulogiums of the present. Unhappily those who are charged with the education of princes, hide from them these ancient truths. They accustom them in their infancy to see nothing but falsity, and thus prepare for the masters of the world, while in their cradles, the poison of illusion in which they are all their lives to be immersed.

You, Madam, who are a lover of truth, and were pleased that I should proclaim it, let me intreat you to receive this new homage, which I pay to you and to her.

I am, Madam, with the profoundest respect, and the most inviolable attachment,

Your most SERENE HIGHNESS's

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

V—



MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.



MISCELLANIES

I N

HISTORY, LITERATURE,

A N D

P H I L O S O P H Y.

O N F A B L E.

SOME rigid persons, more severe than wise, have of late years endeavoured to proscribe the ancient mythology, as a collection of puerile stories, unworthy the gravity of our modern manners. It would, notwithstanding, be a melancholy affair to burn Ovid, Homer, and Hesiod, together with all our fine tapestry, our pictures, and operas: after all, there are many fables, which contain more philosophy than, I fear, many of these philosophers can justly pretend to. If they grant a toleration to the familiar tales of Esop, why fall sword in hand on those sublime fables which have been revered by mankind, whom they have instructed? They are, it is true, mixed with some things, which

8 border

border somewhat upon the frivolous ; for what is there perfect under the sun ? Yet every age will adopt Pandora's box, in the bottom of which is found consolation for all the human race ; Jupiter's two vessels, which are perpetually pouring forth good and evil ; Ixion embracing a cloud, at once the emblem and chastisement of an ambitious mind ; and, lastly, the death of Narcissus, the punishment of self-love. Can there be any thing more sublime than that Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, should spring from the head of the God of Gods ? Can any thing be more true, or more pleasing, than that the goddess of beauty should be obliged to go accompanied with graces ? Do not the goddesses of the arts, all of them daughters of Memory, inform us as well as Locke himself could, that without memory we are not capable of the smallest spark of sense ? the arrows of Cupid, his blindness, and his youth ; Flora embraced by Zephyrus, &c. what are they but so many sensible emblems of nature ? These fables have outlived the religions by which they were consecrated ; the temples and gods of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, are now no more ; and yet Ovid still survives. We may destroy the objects of credulity, but the instruments of pleasure will still remain ; and those images, at once so true and so pleasing, will ever be the favourite delight of the mind of man. Lucretius did not believe those gods of fable ; yet he has celebrated nature under the name of Venus.

*Alma Venus cœli subter labentia signa
 Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
 Concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
 Concipitur ; visitque exortum lumina, solis, &c.*
 Delight

Delight of human kind, and gods above,
Parent of Rome, propitious queen of love,
Whose vital pow'r air, earth, and sea supplies,
And breeds whate'er is born beneath the skies.
For every kind, by thy prolific might,
Springs, and beholds the regions of the light.

DRYDEN.

If antiquity, plunged in darkness, had confined itself to the acknowledging a supreme Being under those images, could we with justice have loaded her with reproaches? The mind which created the world was adored by philosophers; it governed the seas under the name of Neptune, the air under the emblem of Juno, and the fields under that of Pan; it was the god of armies under the name of Mars: they gave life and body to all the attributes: Jupiter was in truth their sole deity: that golden chair, with which he lifted up gods and men, was a striking image of a supreme Being, the sovereign of the universe. The vulgar, it is true, were deceived; but of what consequence are the vulgar to us?

It is a common question, how the magistrates of Greece and Rome could suffer those very deities that were worshipped in their temples to be turned into ridicule on their stages? In this we proceed upon a false supposition: it was not the gods who were turned into ridicule on the theatre, but the follies and absurdities attributed to these gods by those who had corrupted the ancient mythology. The consuls and pretors were not at all offended to see the people diverted on the theatres with the story of the two Sofias; but they could never have suffered their poets to have attacked the worship of Jupiter
and

and Mercury, in the presence of the people. Thus there are a thousand things which seem ridiculous to us, which are by no means so in themselves. I have seen on the theatre of a nation justly celebrated for learning and good sense, adventures which were drawn from the Golden Legend; shall we therefore say, that this nation permits the objects of religion to be insulted? There is no danger the world should become Pagans for having seen at Paris the opera of Proserpine, or for having seen at Rome the marriage of Psyche, painted by Raphael, in one of the pope's palaces. Fable serves to form the taste, but, at the same time, without any danger of making converts to idolatry.

The beautiful fables of antiquity have this farther advantage over history, which is, that they exhibit a morality which acts on the senses: they are so many lessons of virtue; whereas all history is but a relation of successful crimes. In fable, Jupiter descends to punish a Lycaon and a Tantalus; but, in history, our Lycaons and our Tantalus's are the Gods who sway all human affairs. Baucis and Philemon obtain their request, and their cottage is turned into a temple: our Baucis and Philemon have their porridge pots sold by the tax-gatherers, which, in Ovid, are changed into gold and silver.

I know how capable history is of instructing us; I even know the necessity of that study; but yet it stands very much in needs of some foreign aid, to be able to furnish us with the rules of a prudent and virtuous behaviour. I could wish those who know nothing of politics but what they have from books, would endeavour

vous to deep in their remembrance these verses
of Corneille's :

*Les exemples récents suffiraient pour m'instruire ;
Si par l'exemple seul on devait se conduire ;
Mais souvent l'un se perd où l'autre s'est sauvé,
Et par où l'un périt un autre est conservé.*

I want not for recent examples to instruct me, if we ought to direct our conduct aright by example only. But how often do we see that the step which saves one man shall ruin another.

Henry VIII. who tyrannized over his parliaments, his ministers, and his wives, and indeed over the purses and consciences of his people, lived and died in peace ; whereas the good and brave Charles I. lost his life on a scaffold. Our admirable heroine Margaret of Anjou gives battle twelve different times to the English, the subjects of her husband, but in vain. William III. expels James II. out of his kingdom, in a manner, without drawing the sword. In our own days, we have seen the imperial family of Persia cut off, and aliens seat themselves on their throne. For such as look no farther than events, history seems to be an accusation of Providence, and those beautiful fables to be its justification. One thing is evident, which is, that in these we find the useful and the pleasing happily blended. Those who are able to contribute nothing of either are they who declaim against fables. Let us leave such folks alone to rail till they are weary ; and, in the mean time, we will sometimes read Ovid, as well as Titus Livius and Rapin Thoiras. It is good taste which gives the preference, whilst

the contrary conduct is that of a gloomy and an ill-natured fanaticism.

*Tous les Arts sont amis, ainsi qu'ils sont divins :
Qui veut les séparer est loin de les connaître.
L'histoire nous apprend ce que sont les humains ;
La fable ce qu'ils doivent être.*

The union of the arts is as evident as their divine original; and he who attempts to separate them knows little of them. History teaches us what mankind are; Fable what they ought to be.



RELATION

CONCERNING a WHITE NEGRO,

Brought to Paris from Africa in 1744.

I Have seen, not long since, at Paris, a little creature, as white as snow, with a nose and mouth shaped like those of the negroes, and having, like them, short curly wool on his head, but much finer, and of the most shining whiteness. His eye-lashes and eye-brows are of the same wool, but not curled; his eye-lids are so long as to hinder him from discovering the pupil of the eye when he lifts them up, which pupil is perfectly orbicular. His eyes are above all extremely singular: the iris is red, something inclined to a rose colour; the pupil, which with us, and indeed almost all others of the

the human species, is in him of a very bright yellow. And instead of having an aperture in the iris, as both whites and negroes have, he has a yellow transparent membrane, through which he receives the light. From whence it follows, that all his countrymen must see objects in a very different manner from that in which we behold them; and if there should chance to be a Newton among them, he would establish a system of optics entirely different from that of ours. They look exactly as the crabs do, that is, always side-long; and are all of them squint-eyed from their mother's womb: by this means they have the advantage of seeing on both sides at once, and have a double axis of vision, whilst the finest eyes in this country have no more than one. But then they cannot bear the light of the sun, and never see well excepting in the twilight. Nature has probably destined them to pass their days in dens. They have, moreover, much longer and narrower ears than we. This creature is called a man, because he is endowed with speech, has memory, something like what we call reason, and a kind of human countenance.

This race of men inhabit the interior part of Africa: the Spaniards call them Albinos. Their chief abode is near the kingdom of Loango. I cannot find out how Vossius came to call them lepers. That which I saw at the Hotel de Bretagne had a very smooth skin, and exceedingly delicate, free from tetter or speckles. This species is much more despised by the negroes, than the negroes are by us; and they can never find in their hearts to forgive them for having a pair of red eyes, and their little oily skin

that is not as black as jet. They pass with the negroes for an inferior species, made to be their slaves. When a negro happens to debase his nature by stooping so low as to make love to one of this species, he becomes the jest of all the other negroes. A female negro convicted of this base alliance, becomes the reproach of both court and city. I have since learned from travellers worthy of credit, and who have been invested with very great trusts in the East Indies, that some of this race have been transported to Madagascar, to the isle of Bourbon, and to Pondicherry. There is no example, they told me, of their living beyond the age of five and twenty. I am at a loss to say whether we ought to wish them joy or to condole with them on this occasion.

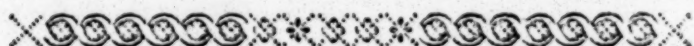
It is but a few years since we found out that any such species had a being. They had transported one of these diminutive creatures called White Moors into America. We find in the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences that Mr. Helvetius had been told of it, but nobody would give credit to the relation: for where we are apt blindly to believe every absurdity, to make amends, we are commonly equally distrustful of what is natural. The first time the Europeans were told of a kind of men as black as moles, it is extremely probable there was a violent fit of laughter, as there was since, when we were told of such a thing as the antipodes. How is it possible, said they, there should be women that have not white skins? We have, since that, become familiarized to the varieties of nature. It has been discovered to have been the will of Providence to make men with a
black

black membrane and woolly heads in temperate climates ; to place white people under the line ; to bronze over the inhabitants of the East and West Indies ; to give a quite different figure to the Chinese than to us ; and to place the pigmies of Lapland in the next country to that of the tall Swedes.

In short, we now discover a new richness in nature, a species which resembles ours no more than a pointer does a greyhound. There is probably yet another species in those parts adjacent to the Terra Australis. Hence than we see mankind are more favoured of Heaven than we at first imagined. It would have really been a melancholy affair had there been so many species of monkeys, and but one of men. It is certainly a thousand pities that so perfect an animal as man should be so little diversified, and that we are able as yet to count no more than five or six species, while there is so charming a variety amongst the brutes. It is exceeding probable some one of the species of two-legged animals without feathers may have perished, as has undoubtedly happened to many other kinds of creatures. This which we call White Moors is very far from being numerous : it would be no very difficult affair to annihilate the whole species ; and were we to continue the peopling our convents in Europe, and the depopulating the globe, to be able to tell who is the king, I can hardly think our wretched species can hold out many years longer.

I am told for certain that these White Moors are a very haughty race ; they imagine themselves peculiarly favoured of Heaven : that they are filled with a holy horror of such men as

have the misfortune to have black hair or black wool on their heads, such as do not squint, or whose ears are curtailed of their just amplitude. They have an opinion the whole universe was created for the White Moors; that some time since there have happened to them a few slight misfortunes; but that all will be well again, and that one day they will become the masters of those black negroes, as well as the whites, who are cursed of God to all eternity. Possibly they may be deceived; but should we take it into our heads to imagine ourselves of greater consequence than they, we are certainly altogether as egregiously deceived*.



O N W I T.

A Person who had a competent knowledge of the human heart being asked his opinion of a tragedy that was about to be performed, made answer, that there was such a deal of wit in the piece, that he very much doubted of its success. "What!" says one, "can that be a fault in an age in which every one aims at

* It is not a very easy matter to discern the author's real design in this essay upon a white moor. If he intends it as a satire upon mankind in general, or any particular race, or sect, or society, we cannot pretend to explain his allusions: but if he really thinks there is a nation of these white moors, he is mistaken. A white moor is nothing but a *lusus naturæ*, which happens perhaps once in a century, in the same manner as an hermaphrodite, or a monstrous birth.

being

being witty ; and write only to shew that they are so ; and in which the public applauds even the falsest thoughts, provided they are brilliant ones ? most assuredly, they will applaud it one day, and condemn it the next."

What is commonly called wit is sometimes a new simile, and sometimes a delicate allusion. In one place, it is the abuse of a word, which is offered to the reader under one sense, and which he is to understand in one quite different. Now it is a delicate relation between two uncommon ideas ; then it is an extraordinary metaphor ; a search after something that an object does not present at first sight, but that yet may be found in it ; the art either of uniting two things naturally very distant, or of dividing two things which seem naturally connected, or to place them in opposition to each other ; that of saying only half one's thoughts, that the reader may have the pleasure to find out the other half himself ; in short, I should mention all the different ways of making our wit known, had I more of it myself : yet all these brilliants (for I do not speak of mock brilliants) are very seldom, if ever, sufferable in a serious work, or in such as ought to interest us. The reason is, that it is then the author who appears, whereas the public desires never to see any person but the hero. Now this hero is always either in a passion or in danger. Neither danger nor passion seek after wit. Priam and Hecuba would not have made epigrams when Troy was in flames, and their children butchered before their faces. Dido does not vent her sighs in madrigals, while running towards the funeral pile on which she is to give herself the fatal

blow. Demosthenes does not make use of pretty thoughts when he is stirring up the Athenians to war; had he done so, he had been a rhetorician, or a declaimer, whereas he was a statesman.

The art of the admirable Racine is infinitely beyond what is called wit; but had Pyrrhus always expressed himself in such a stile as this,

*Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets consumé,
Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai,
Hélas ! fus-je jamais si cruel que vous l'êtes ?*

A fetter'd captive, and a vanquish'd wretch,
A prey to all the pangs of heart-felt grief,
Burning with flames more fierce than those
my rage

Kindled in falling Troy; say, was I e'er
So cruel, so obdurate as thou art?

Or, was Orestes continually crying,

Que les Scythes sont moins cruels qu' Hermione.

E'en savage Scythians are more gentle far
Than is Hermione:

These two characters had never produced any effect on the audience: they would have perceived that passion, which is real, very rarely amuses itself with such comparisons; and that there is very little connection between the flames which consumed Troy, and those of Pyrrhus; between the Scythians, who offered up human victims, and Hermione, who had no passion for Orestes. Cinna, speaking of Pompey, says,

*Le Ciel choisit sa mort, pour servir dignement
D'une marque éternelle à ce grand changement ;
Et*

*Et devait cet honneur aux Mêmes d'un tel homme,
D'emporter avec eux la liberté de Rome.*

His death was fix'd on by the righteous gods,
As the most glorious mark, the surest monu-
ment,

To latest ages, of this wondrous change:
Resolv'd, in honour to the hero's shade,
That Roman freedom should with him ex-
pire.

This thought is certainly very splendid; there is a great deal of wit in it, and even a certain grandeur which dazzles at first sight. I am sure these verses, pronounced with that enthusiasm of expression, and the address of an able actor, could not fail of applause; but I am also sure, that were the tragedy of Cinna to be all written in the same taste, it would not have been performed for any length of time. And, to speak the truth, why should Heaven resolve to do honour to Pompey by making his countrymen slaves after his death? the contrary had been much more consistent with probability; and the name of Pompey ought rather to have endeavoured to obtain of Heaven the perpetuating that liberty for which we suppose he both fought and died.

What must a work, filled with such paradoxes and far-fetched thoughts, really be? how superior to all these dazzling ideas are such simple and natural verses as these?

*Cinna, tu t'en souviens, & veux m'assassiner!
Soyon amis, Cinna, c'est moi qui t'en convie.*

This Cinna thou remember'st, and would'st
kill me!

Yet we'll be friends; it is Augustus asks it.

This is by no means what is called wit ; it is the sublime and the simple, in the union of which two qualities all true beauty consists.

When Antiochus, in Rhodogune, speaking of his mistress who leaves him, after having made him the base proposal to murder his mother, says,

Elle fuit, mais en Parthe, en nous perçant le cœur.

She flies, but, like the Parthian, flying wounds ;

Antiochus is assuredly very witty ; this is really composing an epigram on Rhodogune ; he makes a very ingenious comparison between the last words she utters on her going away, and the arrows which the Parthians, in their flight, shot back against their pursuers. But it is not his mistress's leaving him, but the proposal of killing his mother, which is shocking : whether Rhodogune went or stay'd, Antiochus is equally love-sick ; but if she had not gone away, there would have been no room for this wretched epigram.

I have chosen to draw these examples from the best authors, on purpose that they might on that account have the greater weight. I omit pointing out the trivial points, and the playing upon words, whereof we easily discover the blemish. There is no person who does not burst out in a fit of laughter, when, in the Golden Fleece, Hipsipile says to Medea, alluding to her enchantments,

Je n'ai que des attraits, & vous avez des charmes.

I have but beauty, you're possess'd of charms.

Corneille found the theatre, and indeed every species of composition, infected with such puerilities,

ilities, in which he very rarely indulges himself. I have no intention in this place to take notice of any strokes of wit, but such only as might be admitted elsewhere, and which are altogether faulty in the serious. We might apply to the authors who make use of them these words of Plutarch, as they are translated by Amiot, with the simplicity peculiar to him: *Tu tien sans propos, beaucoup de bons propos.*

I remember to have seen one of these splendid thoughts quoted as a model in many works of taste, and even in the late Mr. Rollin's Treatise on Study. This passage is extracted from that beautiful funeral oration on the great Turenne, composed by Flechier. It is true, Flechier in this oration almost equals the sublime Bossuet, whom I have formerly called, and still do call, the eloquent person among so many elegant writers; but I am of opinion the passage I am speaking of would hardly have been made sense of by the bishop of Meaux. It is this:

Puissances ennemies de la France, vous vivez, & l'esprit de la charité Chrétienne m'interdit de faire aucun souhait pour votre mort, &c. mais vous vivez: & je plains dans cette chaire un vertueux Capitaine dont les intentions étaient pures, &c.

Ye powers, enemies to France, you yet survive, and the spirit of Christian charity forbids me to form a wish for your deaths, &c. Yes, you survive, whilst I appear in this place to perform the mournful office of lamenting a virtuous general, whose intentions were undefiled and pure, &c.

Such an apostrophe might have been seasonable enough at Rome, in the time of the civil war after the murder of Pompey, or in London after that of Charles I. as the subject then would have related to the interests of Pompey and Charles I. But is it consistent with decency artfully to express from the pulpit a wish for the death of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the electors, and to put them in the ballance with the general of a king with whom they were then at war? ought the intentions of a captain, which could only be the serving his prince, to be compared with the political interests of crowned heads, against whom he was employed? what should we have said of a German who should have wished for the death of the king of France, because count Merci, whose intentions were pure, happened to be killed? Why* then has this passage been commended on every occasion by all the rhetoricians? The reason is, that this figure is naturally beautiful and pathetic; but they forget to examine the substance and fitness of the sentiment is contained. Plutarch would have told Flechier, *Tu as tenu sans propos, un très-beau propos.*

I return to the paradox I have been advancing; that all those glittering thoughts to which men have given the appellation of wit, ought never to have been admitted into great works, composed for the instruction of the pub-

* Flechier copied one half of his funeral oration on marshal Turenne from that which Lingendus, bishop of Grenoble, had written on one of the dukes of Savoy. This passage, which was extremely proper for a sovereign, is by no means so for a subject.

lic, or calculated to move the passions. I would not even stick to say, they ought to be banished from our operas. Music expresses the passions, the sentiments, and the images : but what accents are able to express an epigram ? Quinault has formerly been sometimes neglected, yet he was always natural.

Of all our operas, that which is the most loaded with ornaments, or rather filled with this affectation of epigram, is the *Ballet du Triomphe des Arts*, composed by a very worthy person, who thought always in a very delicate and ingenious manner, and who expressed himself with equal elegance ; but who, by the abuse of this talent, has contributed somewhat to the downfall of letters, after those happy days under Louis XIV. In this ballad, where Pygmalion gives life to his statue, he tells her,

Vos premiers mouvemens ont été de m'aimer.

And your first movements were of love to me.

I remember to have heard this verse admired in my youth by certain persons. But who does not perceive that the motions of the body of the statue are here confounded with the motions of the heart, and that in no sense this phrase makes good French ? but is a point a mere wit-ticism ? how is it possible a person who had so much wit should yet want sense to retrench those florid and dazzling faults ? the man who despised and translated Homer, and in his translation thought he corrected him, and who, by abridging him, thought he had made him possible to be read, takes it into his head likewise to make Homer witty. This person, whilst he

makes Achilles seemingly reconciled to the Greeks, who are now ready to revenge his quarrel, makes the whole camp cry out:

Que ne vaincra-t il point ? il s'est vaincu lui-même.

He sure must conquer who subdu'd himself.

He must have been deeply in love with this false wit to cause an army of fifty thousand men to express themselves by a point.

This play of the imagination, these pretty turns, these conceits, these gaieties, these short smart sentences, these ingenious familiar expressions, men are so prodigal of at present, are only proper for trivial works, which are calculated for mere amusement. The part of the Louvre by Perrault is at once simple and majestic. A cabinet may admit of little ornaments. Be as witty as you please, or even as you can be, in light copies of verses, in a scene of a comedy, that is neither filled with passion, nor what we call simple nature, in a compliment, in some short novel, or in a letter in which you would communicate your good humour to your friend.

Far from finding fault with Voiture for admitting wit into his letters, I am, on the contrary, of opinion, that he is not witty enough, though he was eternally straining after it. Dancing-masters are said to make a bow with the worst grace of any people, because they aim at doing it better than any body else. I fancy this is exactly Voiture's case. His best letters are studied; we perceive it has cost him a great deal of labour to find out what offers itself of its own accord to count Antony Hamilton, to madam de Sévigné, and to many

other ladies, who write such trifles with the greatest ease, better than Voiture could with prodigious efforts. Despreaux, who ventured to compare Voiture to Horace, in his first satires, changed his opinion after his taste had been ripened by age. I know it is of small importance to mankind, whether he is, or is not, of an elevated genius; whether he has written only a few letters that can be called pretty, or whether all his pleasantries ought to pass for so many models. But persons who love and cultivate the arts, are often particularly careful in examining what the rest of the world is apt to look upon with the greatest indifference. Taste is, to the full, as necessary to us in the pursuit of literature, as it is to the ladies in matters of dress; and provided we do not make our opinions a party affair, methinks we may boldly say that there are few things that can be called excellent in Voiture; and that Marot might very easily be reduced to a few pages.

I would not, from what I have said, be understood as desiring to derogate from the reputation they have acquired; on the contrary, I would endeavour to let it be known exactly by what means they have acquired the reputation they enjoy; and what those true beauties are which have, in some measure, made their faults pass uncensured. We ought to know what is worthy our imitation, and what ought to shun; and this is properly what we ought to be the fruit of a careful study of the belles lettres. This is the conduct Horace pursued when he examined Lucilius like a true critic. Horace, by so doing, made himself enemies; but even
his

his enemies were improved by the instructions he gave them.

This desire to shine, and to say what has been already said by others, after a new manner, is the source of novelty in expressions, as it is of far-fetched thoughts. An author who is incapable of shining by a thought, would make himself taken notice of by an expression. This is the reason why it has been lately attempted to substitute *amabilités* instead of *agré-mens*, *négligemment* for *négligence*, *badiner les amours* in place of *badiner avec les amours*. There are an hundred such affected expressions. Were we to continue corrupting the language in this manner, that spoken by Bossuet, Racine, Pascal, Corneille, Boileau, and Fenelon, would soon become obsolete. Why reject an expression which is in use, to make room for another signifying exactly the same thing? A new word is pardonably only when it is absolutely necessary, intelligible, and sonorous; we are under a necessity of coining such in physics: a new discovery, or a new machine, demands a new term. But are there any new discoveries made in the human heart? is there any other sublime than that of Corneille and Bossuet? are there any other passions, besides those which have been treated by Racine, or excited by Quinault? is there any Gospel-morality different from that of Bourdaloue?

Those who condemn our language as not being sufficiently copious, may be supposed to have met with something like sterility; but then it is in themselves: *Rem verba sequuntur*. When we are full of any idea, when a just and warm imagination fully possesses a thought,
it

it then issues from the brain, ready arrayed in proper expressions, in the same manner as Minerva sprung fully armed from that of Jupiter. I am sensible this simile might justly seem misplaced, at least in another work; but you will pardon it in a letter. In a word, the conclusion I draw from what has been said is, that we must not seek after either thoughts, turns, or expressions; and that art, in every great work, consists in reasoning justly, but without making use of too many arguments; in painting well, but without painting every thing; in moving the passions, but without always endeavouring to shake the soul. Here is certainly a world of good counsel; but have I always followed the doctrine I preach? Alas! no——

*Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti potuere.*

FRAGMENT of a LETTER
On a very useful Custom which prevails
in Holland.

IT is to be wished that those who govern nations would imitate artists. As soon as it is known in London that a new stuff is made in France, they are sure to counterfeit it: why is not a statesman equally desirous to establish in his own country a salutary law taken from a foreign nation? we have arrived, at length, at the secret of making china-ware of an equal goodness to that made in China. Let us learn the secret of imitating the good we observe practised among our neighbours, and let our neighbours profit by what they see excellent among us.

There are private persons who raise in their gardens the fruits which nature had appointed only to ripen under the line. We have a thousand wise laws, and a thousand excellent customs at our very doors; these are the fruits we ought to raise in our country; these are the trees we ought to transplant; they will thrive in every climate, and will prosper in every soil. The most salutary law, the most excellent custom, and the most useful I have ever seen is in Holland. When two persons are about to enter upon a law-suit, they are first obliged to go before a tribunal of reconciling judges, called the Peace-makers. If the parties happen to bring with them a lawyer and a counsellor, the first thing done is to send those gentlemen
about

about their business, as we take off the wood from a fire we want to extinguish. The Peacemakers tell the parties, "You are certainly great fools to spend your money to procure your own ruin; we will bring you to an accommodation without costing you one farthing." If the rage of chicane happens to be too violent in our parties, they put them off to another day, in order that time may soften and mitigate the symptoms of their disorder; after the expiration of which time the judges summon them before them a second and a third time. If their folly is of the incurable sort, they promise them they will consent to their having their cause tried in a court of justice, in the same manner as we abandon an incurable member to the surgeon; and then the law has its course.

There is no necessity to make long declamations, or to calculate how much it would be for the advantage of humanity, were this law universally adopted. And besides, I am by no means desirous to follow the traces of the abbé de St. Pierre, whose projects a certain minister, and a man of sense, called *The dreams of a worthy man*. I know that if a private person of integrity and good sense, offers a proposal for the public good, it too often happens that he is abused or laughed at for his pains. "What meddling fellow is this," some will say, "who pretends to make us happier than we chuse to be? and goes about to reform abuses by which so many people get their living?"—What reply can be made to this? for my part I know of none.

A L E T.

A
L E T T E R
O N T H E

Inconveniences attached to the Profession
of LETTERS*.

YOUR vocation, my dear le Fevre, is too plainly marked out by nature to be able to resist it. The bee must needs make honey, the silk-worm spin, Mr. Réaumur must dissect them, and you sing their labours. You will be a poet and a man of letters, not so much by your own choice as by that of nature. But you are much deceived in thinking that tranquility will be your lot. The road of literature, and, above all, of genius, is yet more thorny than that of fortune. If you have the misfortune to be only an indifferent poet, which I am far from believing, here is nothing before you but repentance whilst you live. If you succeed, you are then sure to be surrounded with enemies; in a word, you walk on the brink of a precipice, with contempt on one hand, and hatred on the other.

“But what,” you will tell me, “can it be possible I should be hated and persecuted merely

* This letter seems to have been written in 1732, as the author had, about that time, taken into his house the young man called Mr. le Fevre, to whom it is addressed. He is said to have been of a very promising genius, very learned, and to have written some extreme pretty verses. He died the same year.

for having written a good poem, a play that has had a run, or compiled a history with approbation, or for having sought to improve my own mind, or to contribute to the instruction of others?" But, admitting you have composed an excellent work, are you aware that you must abandon the repose of your study, in order to make your application to the licenser? If his way of thinking happens to differ from yours, if he chances not to be your friend's friend, if he is in the interest of your rival, or if he is your rival himself, it will be more difficult for you to obtain a privilege, than for a man who has not the protection of the women to get a place at court. At length, after a year spent in applications and refusals, your work is printed; then it is you are obliged either to lay the Cerberus's of literature asleep, or engage them to bark in your favour. There are always three or four literary gazettes in France, as many in Holland; these are so many different factions. The booksellers, whose property these journals are, have an interest in their being satirical; and those who write in them are easily brought to humour the avarice of the bookseller, and the ill nature of the public. Are you desirous to set these trumpets of fame sounding, do you pay your court to writers, patrons, abbés, doctors, and hawkers; all your cares will not avail, but some journalist or other will mangle your reputation. You answer him; he replies; you have a paper-war carried on before the public, who condemns both parties alike to ridicule.

The matter is still worse if you happen to write for the stage; you begin with appearing
before

before the areopagus of a score of pleaders, a body whose profession, though both useful and diverting, is, notwithstanding, sullied by the unjust but irrevocable cruelty of the public. This unhappy state of contempt in which they are, irritates them. In you they behold a client, and lavish on you all that contempt with which they themselves are covered. You await your doom from them; they sit in judgment on your merits; and, at length, undertake to perform your piece. One foolish wit in the pit is enough to damn all your hopes. Does it succeed? That farce, called the Italian Comedy, that of the Foire, will parody you; and a swarm of libels are published to prove to you, that you should not in justice have met with any success. Some of the pretenders to learning, who neither understand Greek, nor read what is published in French, despise, or, at least, affect to despise you.

You carry your book to some lady of the court, and, as you go, tremble for fear she should give it to her woman, who will make papers for her hair of it; and the lacquey, all bedaubed with lace, who is keeper of the book of luxury, insults your dress, which is the livery of indigence.

In short, I will suppose that the fame of your works may have forced envy herself sometimes to acknowledge you are not without your share of merit. This is the utmost you can expect whilst living; but you will pay dearly for this condescension, and have nothing to look for but perpetual persecution. You will have libels imputed to you, which you have never so much as read; verses, for which you entertain the
most

most sovereign contempt; and sentiments to which you are an utter stranger: you will be compelled to espouse a party, or else have all parties unite in a body against you.

There are in Paris a number of those little societies, in which some woman presides, who in the decline of her beauty begins to exhibit the first dawning of her wit. One or two of the men of letters are the first members of this little kingdom. Should you neglect getting yourself admitted in quality of a courtier, you are sure of being held as a declared enemy, and are accordingly allowed no quarter. In the mean while, in spite of all your merit, you grow old in the midst of slander and wretchedness; those places which are destined for men of letters, are given to those who can best cabal, and not to those who are only recommended by their talents: and some pedagogue, by means of his pupil's mother, shall obtain a place to which you dare not so much as lift up your eyes; and the parasite of some courtier carry an employ from you for which you are extremely well qualified.

Should chance lead you into one of those companies in which some one of the authors who have been damned by the public happens to be, or one of those half-learned, who have not even merit sufficient to be ranked among the middling authors, but who has a place, or who may have thrust himself into some public office; you will soon perceive by the superiority which he affects to have over you, that you are in the very lowest class of mankind.

After forty years labour, you resolve to seek, by means of intriguing, after what is never
given

given to merit alone, and you make interest, as others do, to be admitted into the French academy, and to be allowed to pronounce with a hesitating voice, at your reception, a compliment, which next day will be forgotten for ever. This French academy is the secret object of the vows of every man of letters ; it is a mistress against whom they are perpetually making songs and epigrams, till they have obtained her favours, and whom they neglect the next moment after fruition.

It is no wonder they should be desirous of being admitted into a society in which there are always some persons of merit, and from whom they expect, though with little reason, to find protection. But you may perhaps ask me, why people say all the ill-natured things in their power against this body, till such time as they become members of it ? and why the public, which shews sufficient respect to the Academy of Sciences, uses so little ceremony with the French Academy ? The reason is, that the works of the French Academy are exposed to the view of the public, whereas those of the other are covered with a veil. Every Frenchman thinks he knows the language, and piques himself on his taste ; but they rarely value themselves on being thought natural philosophers. The mathematics will always be a kind of mystery to the bulk of the nation, and consequently will always be an object of veneration. Algebraic equations afford no matter either for an epigram, for a song, or for envy ; but people judge with the utmost severity those enormous collections of indifferent verses, harangues, and panegyrics, which are sometimes

as

as false as the eloquence with which they are accompanied. We are sorry to see the device of *Immortality* at the head of so many declamations, which promise nothing that is likely to last for ever, but that oblivion to which they are condemned.

It is most certain that the French Academy might serve to fix the taste of the nation, as will appear by reading their remarks on the *Cid*; the jealousy of cardinal Richlieu has, at least, had this good effect. A few works in this kind would be of very great service. We have looked for such these hundred years from the only body from whom they can proceed with any decorum or advantage. Complaints have been made that half the academicians consist of noblemen who never assist at their meetings; and that, among the remaining half, there are hardly to be found above nine or ten who give constant attendance. The academy is often neglected by its own members; and yet no sooner does one of the forty die, but new candidates appear; a vacant bishoprick could not occasion more caballing; they ride post to Versailles; all the women are set to work as well as all the bustling people; every spring is put in motion; and often the only fruit of these negotiations is the making of enemies; the chief cause of those horrible couplets which have for ever undone the celebrated but unfortunate Rousseau, were owing to his failing of the place which he solicited in the Academy. Are you so fortunate as to carry the preference over all your rivals, your felicity presently dwindles to a mere phantom; do you meet with a disappointment, your affliction is then

K

real.

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real. One might write these verses on the tomb
of most men of letters :

*Ci gît au bord de l'Hippocrène,
Un mortel longtems abusé.
Pour vivre pauvre & méprisé,
Il se donna bien de la peine.*

Here lies, by the Castalian brook,
A victim to the love of fame,
A world of pains this poet took
To live in poverty and shame.

What then is the drift of this long sermon I
have been making ? Can it be to deter you
from the pursuit of the road of literature ? I
will not so much oppose the course of destiny ;
all I mean by this is only to exhort you to pa-
tience.

A FRAG-

F R A G M E N T

O N T H E

Causes of the Corruption of STILE.

IT is a general complaint that eloquence is corrupted, though we have models in almost all the kinds. One of the grand defects of the present age, and which has most contributed to this decline, is the mixture of stiles. It would seem we authors do not enough imitate the painters, who make it a constant rule never to join the attitudes of Calot to the figures of Raphael. I have seen some histories, in other respects well enough written, and even good dogmatical pieces, composed in the stile of the most familiar conversation. Some one has formerly said, we ought to write as we speak; the meaning of which is certainly this, that we ought to write naturally. Irregularity, licentiousness, incorrectness, and even a hazarded stroke of wit, may be tolerated in a letter; because a letter, which is supposed to be written without study or design, is of course an easy and careless composition; but when we speak or write with an idea of respect, we are then obliged to confine ourselves within the limits of decorum. Now, I ask, whether there is any thing more deserving of respect than the public?

Is it allowable to say, in a mathematical work, "that a geometrician, who would make sure of his salvation, ought to mount up to Heaven in a perpendicular line; that evanescent quantities fall to the ground from their ambition of ascending too high; that a seed that has been sown with the wrong end in the ground is sensible of the trick that has been played it, and therefore rises again in an upright posture; that were Saturn to perish, it would be his fifth and not his first satellite that would fill his place, because kings always keep their immediate heirs at a distance; that there is no vacuum in nature but in the pocket of a bankrupt; that Hercules was a natural philosopher, and that to resist a philosopher of his strength was a thing impossible?"

There are very excellent books infected with this blemish; the source of this so common a fault, proceeds, in my opinion, from that reproach of pedantry that has long been made to authors, and with abundance of justice: *In vitium ducit culpæ fuga*. It has been so often rung in people's ears, that they ought to write in the language of the best company, that the gravest authors are grown witty; and, in order to pass with their readers for one accustomed to see good company, they say things worthy of the very worst sort of company.

They have attempted to treat of the sciences, in the same tone as Voiture talked to mademoiselle Paulet about gallantry, without reflecting that Voiture himself has not hit the true taste of this light way of writing, in which he was thought to have excelled; for he often mistook
the

the false for the delicate, as he did the affected stile for the natural. Pleasantry is never good in the serious, because it glances only on that side of objects on which it is never viewed by the public; it turns almost perpetually on false relations, or on equivocal meanings; from whence it comes that those who set up for professed wits have commonly judgments equally false and superficial.

I should think we ought as little to mix stiles in poetry as in prose. That stile which is called Marotic has lately corrupted our poetry a little, by that extravagant mingle of expressions, at the same time creeping and noble, obsolete and modern; we sometimes, in pieces of morality, hear the squeaking of Rabelais' whistle blended with the softness of Horace's flute.

Il faut parler Français : Boileau n'eut qu'un langage :

Son esprit était juste, & son stile était sage.

*Sers-toi de ses leçons ; laisse aux esprits mal-faits
L'art de moraliser du ton de Rabelais.*

We should speak plain sense: Boileau had but one language. His wit was just, his stile grave and decent; observe his rules, and leave to left-handed wits the unenvied art of moralizing in the gross stile of Rabelais.

I confess I was shocked to meet with the following expressions in a serious epistle.

*Des rimeurs disloqués, à qui le cerveau tinte,
Plus amers qu'aloës, & jus de coloquinte,
Vices portant méchef. Gens de tel acabit,
Chifoniers, Ostrogots, marouffes que Dieu fit.*

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*De tous ces termes bas l'entassement facile
Déshonore à la fois le génie & le stile.*

To a certain UPPER CLERK.

June 20, 1733.

S I R,

SINCE you are in a situation which enables you to do some service to the belles lettres, let me entreat you not to clip so close the wings of our writers, nor reduce to the condition of barn-door fowls those who, by using their best efforts, might one day become eagles; a decent freedom elevates the mind, whilst a state of slavery renders it degenerate and abject. Had there been a literary inquisition at Rome, we had neither had a Horace, nor a Juvenal, nor even the philosophical works of Cicero. Had Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Locke, not been free, England had been without either poets or philosophers; there is a certain Turkish despotism in proscribing the press; and to confine it too much is equal to a prohibition. Be satisfied with laying defamatory libels under the severest restraint, because such productions as these are real crimes. But whilst men openly publish such monstrous collections of the most infamous ribaldry, and so many other pieces, equally deserving our horror and contempt; permit Bayle, at least, to make his appearance in France, and let not the works of a
person

person who has done so much honour to our country be rated as contraband.

You may perhaps tell me, that the magistrates who manage the literary custom-house complain that there are too many books. This is much the same as if the provost of the merchants at Paris should say there were too many commodities at market. Let him buy that wants. An immense library is like the city Paris, which contains very near eight hundred thousand souls: now, you do not associate with all this prodigious multitude; you choose out some select company, agreeable to your taste and inclinations, and you change it whenever you grow tired of it. Books are used in much the same manner: We chuse out some, by way of friends, from the multitude. There will still be seven or eight hundred thousand books of controversy, and from fifteen to sixteen thousand romances, which you will never read; with a world of loose periodical papers, which you may read once, and then throw into the fire. A man of taste reads only the excellent authors; but a good statesman will tolerate both kinds.

The thoughts of men are become an important object in commerce. The booksellers in Holland gain a million yearly, because Frenchmen formerly had wit. A middling romance is, as I am perfectly well assured, among books, what a fool, that would be thought a man of imagination, is in the world: People laugh at him, but yet they put up with him. This romance gives bread to the author who has composed it, to the bookseller who vends it, toge-

ther with the type-founder, printer, book-binder, hawker, and, lastly, the retailer of execrable wine, with whom all those gentlemen lay out their money. This work will moreover serve for two or three hours amusement to a few women, with whom novelty is the most essential quality in books, as it is in every thing else. Thus, contemptible as it is, it has produced two things of vast importance, profit and pleasure.

Shews, moreover, merit still greater attention; I do not consider them as an employment which take the young people from debauchery; this notion is fit for such an one as an ignorant curate. There is time enough, both before and after shews, to enjoy the few moments which are commonly bestowed on transitory pleasures, immediately followed by disgust. Besides, men do not go to shews every day; and among the vast multitude of citizens, there are not four thousand persons who attend them constantly.

I consider tragedy and comedy as so many schools of virtue, reason, and decorum. Corneille, who may really be called an ancient Roman living in France, has founded a school wherein noble sentiments are taught; and Moliere an academy wherein are explained the duties of civil life. Those geniuses which they have formed, draw strangers from the remotest parts of Europe, who come to receive instructions amongst us, and who contribute to the opulence of Paris. Our poor are fed by the produce of these works, which have gained us an empire over those very nations who have a
natural

natural hatred to us. The whole being well considered, a man must be an enemy to his country to condemn our shews. A magistrate, in right of having bought at a high price the office of a judge, has the audaciousness to think, that it is indecent in him to go to see Cinna: such a person may have a great deal of gravity, but surely is possessed of a very small share of taste.

There will always be, in this polite nation of ours, minds which naturally have a tincture of the Goth and Vandal; but I can only acknowledge those who love and encourage the arts as true Frenchmen. This taste, it is true, begins to sink amongst us: we are, like the Sibarites, weary of the favours of our mistresses: we enjoy the vigils of these great men, whose labours serve for our amusement, as well as for that of ages yet unborn, just as we receive the productions of nature. They will tell us they are due to us; it is but an hundred years since we fed on acorns; yet those Triptolemus's, who have given us the finest wheat, are become indifferent to us; nothing awakens this spirit of indolence and indifference for great objects, which is an inseparable companion of our vivacity and eagerness for trifles.

We discover every year more industry and invention in our snuff-boxes, our tweezer-cases, and such trinkets, than the English have made use of to obtain the empire of the seas, to cause water to ascend by means of fire, and to calculate the aberration of light. The ancient Romans raised wonders in architecture for their spectacles of wild beasts; yet have we not for an age past been able to build a tolerable room

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to represent the master-pieces of the human mind. The hundredth part of our card-money would be sufficient to build places for our shews more pompous than the theatre of Pompey : but where is the man in Paris who is fired with the smallest spark of love for his country ? We game, sup, and like scandal, compose wretched songs, and fall asleep in the hands of stupidity, in order to awake next day to renew the same circle of levity and indifference. You, Sir, who hold, at least a small place, which gives you an opportunity of giving wholesome counsel, do you endeavour to rouse men from this barbarous lethargy, and be a benefactor, if you can, to the commonwealth of letters, who have been so great benefactors to France.

DIALOGUE

D I A L O G U E
BETWEEN A
CLIENT and his LAWYER.

C L I E N T.

WELL, Sir ! with regard to the cause of those poor orphans !

L A W Y E R.

What do you mean ? It is but eighteen years since their estate has been in litigation.

C L I E N T.

I don't complain of that trifling matter ; I know the custom well enough ; I respect it : but how, in the name of Heaven, comes it to pass, that you have been these three months soliciting a hearing, and have not yet obtained it ?

L A W Y E R.

The reason is because you have not solicited an audience in person in behalf of your pupils : you ought to have waited on the judge several different times, to intreat him to try your cause.

C L I E N T.

It is their duty to do justice of their own accord, without waiting till it is asked them. He is a very great man that has it in his power to sit in judgment on men's lives and fortunes ; but he is by no means so to desire that the miserable should wait in his antichamber. I do not go to our parson's levee to pray and beseech him to

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have the goodness to sing high mass: why ought I then to petition my judge to discharge the function of his office? In short, after so many and such tedious delays, are we at length going to be so happy as to have our cause tried to-day?

L A W Y E R.

Why, yes; and there is great likelihood of your carrying a very material point in your process: you have a very decisive article in *Charondas* on your side.

C L I E N T.

This same *Charondas* was, in all probability, some lord chancellor in the time of one of the kings of the first race, who has passed a law in favour of orphans?

L A W Y E R.

By no means: he is no more than a private person who has given his opinion in a great volume which nobody reads: but then your advocate quotes him; the judges take it upon his credit; so there is your cause gained in a trice.

C L I E N T.

What! do you tell me the opinion of this judge *Charondas* passes current for a law?

L A W Y E R.

But there is one devilish bad circumstance attends us. *Turnet* and *Brodeau* are both against us.

C L I E N T.

These, I suppose, are two other legislators, whose laws have much the same authority with those of that other hard-named gentleman.

L A W-

LAWYER.

Yes, certainly; as it was impossible to explain the Roman law sufficiently in the present case, the world took different sides of the question.

CLIENT.

What the devil signifies it to bring in the Roman law in this affair. Do we live, in the present age, under Theodosius or Justinian?

LAWYER.

By no means; but our forefathers, you must know, had a prodigious passion for tilting and fox-hunting: they ran all, as if they were mad, to the Holy Land with their doxies. You will grant me, that men, in such a hurry of business, of consequence, could not be supposed to have time on their hands to frame a complete body of universal jurisprudence.

CLIENT.

Aye! aye! I understand you. For want of laws of your own, you are forced to beg of Charondas and Justinian to be so good as tell you how you should proceed when an inheritance is to be divided.

LAWYER.

There you are mistaken: we have more laws than all Europe besides; almost every city has a body of laws of its own.

CLIENT.

Your most obedient. Here's another miracle.

LAWYER.

Ah! had your wards been born at Guignes-la Putain, instead of being natives of Melun near Corbeil.

CLI-

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C L I E N T.

Very well : what had happened then, for God's sake ?

L A W Y E R.

You would have gained your cause, as sure as two and two make four ; that's all : for at this same Guignes-la-Putain there is a custom which is wholly in your favour ; but were you to go but two leagues beyond this, you would then be in a very different situation.

C L I E N T.

But pray are not Guignes and Melun both in France ? And can any thing be more absurd or horrible, than to tell me, that what's right in one village is wrong in another ? By what fatal barbarity does it happen, that people, born in the same country, do yet live under different laws ?

L A W Y E R.

The reason is, that formerly the inhabitants of Guignes and those of Melun were not inhabitants of the same country : these two fine cities formed, in the golden days of yore, two distinct empires ; and the august sovereign of Guignes, though a vassal to the king of France, gave laws to his own subjects. Those laws depended on the good-will and pleasure of his *major domo*, who, it seems, could not read ; so that they have been handed down, by a most venerable tradition, from father to son ; so that the whole race of the barons de Guignes becoming extinct, to the irrecoverable loss of all mankind, the conceits of their first lacqueys still subsists, and is held for the fundamental law of the land. The case is exactly the same
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in every fix leagues in the whole kingdom; so that you change laws every time you change horses; so you may judge what a taking we poor advocates are in, when we are to plead, for instance, for an inhabitant of Poictou against an inhabitant of Auvergne.

CLIENT.

But these same men of Poictou, Auvergne, with your Guignes gentry, are they not all dressed in the same manner? Is it a harder matter to use the same laws than it is to wear the same cloaths? And since it is evident the taylor and cobler understand one another from one end of the kingdom to the other, why cannot the judges learn of them, and follow so excellent an example?

LAWYER.

You desire a thing altogether as impossible as it would be to bring the nation to make use of one sort of weights and measures. Why would you have the laws every-where the same, when you see the point is different in all places? For my own part, after thinking till my head was like to split, all I have been able to conclude for the soul of me, is this: That as the measure of Paris is different from that at St. Denis, it follows, that men's judgments must also be different in both. The varieties of nature are infinite, and it would be wrong in us to endeavour to render uniform what she intends shall not be so.

CLIENT.

Yet, now I think on it, I have a strong notion the English have but one sort of weight and measures.

LAW-

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L A W Y E R.

The English! ay. Why the English are mere Barbarians: they have, it is true, but one kind of measure; but, to make amends, they have a score of different religions.

C L I E N T.

There you mention something strange indeed! Is it possible that a nation, who live under the same laws, should not likewise live under the same religion?

L A W Y E R.

It is; which makes it plain they are abandoned to their own reprobate understandings.

C L I E N T.

But may not it also prove, that they think laws made for regulating the external actions of men, and religion the internal? Possibly the English, and other nations, were of opinion, that laws related to the concerns of man with man, and that religion regarded man's relation to God. I am sure, I should never quarrel with an Anabaptist who should take it into his head to be christened at thirty years old; but I should be horridly offended with him, should he fail paying his bill of exchange. They who sin against God, ought to be punished in the other world; they who sin against man, ought to be chastised in this.

L A W Y E R.

I understand nothing of all this. I am just going to plead your cause.

C L I E N T.

I wish to God you understood it better first.

D I A -

D I A L O G U E
B E T W E E N
Madam de M A I N T E N O N
A N D

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS*.

Madam MAINTENON.

TIS true, I did request you to come to see me privately: perhaps you may think it was only to make a display of my grandeur; by no means; I really meant it that I might receive in you a real consolation——

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Consolation, madam! I must acknowledge, that, having never been favoured with hearing of you since you were grown great, I concluded you must be perfectly happy.

Madam MAINTENON.

I have the good fortune to be thought so. There are people in the world who are satisfied

* Madame de Maintenon and mademoiselle Ninon de l'Enclos had lived long together. This celebrated young lady, who died in her eighty-eighth year, had seen our author, and had even left him a legacy by her will. The author has often heard the late abbé de Chateauneuf say, that madam de Maintenon had used her utmost endeavours to engage Ninon to turn nun, and to come and comfort her at Versailles under the irksome load of grandeur and old age.
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with this; though, to be plain with you, it is not at all my case; I have always exceedingly regretted the loss of your company.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I understand you. In the midst of your grandeur you were sensible of the want of friendship; and I, on the other hand, who am entirely engrossed by friendship, never had occasion to wish for grandeur; but how then comes it to pass you forgot me so long?

Madam MAINTENON.

You know the necessity I was under to seem at least to forget you. Believe me, amidst all the misfortunes attached to my elevation, I always reckoned this restraint the chief.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

As for my part, I neither forget my former pleasures, nor my old friends; but if you are really unhappy, as you say you are, you impose prodigiously on the whole world, who believe you otherwise.

Madam MAINTENON.

I was the first person deceived in this manner myself. If whilst we were at supper together, in company with Villarfaux and Nantouillet at our little house in the Tournelles, when the mediocrity of our fortune was scarce worth thinking of, some-body had said, You will, before it is long, approach very near to the throne; the most powerful monarch in the world will soon make you his sole confidant; all favours will pass through your hands; you will be regarded as a sovereign: if, said I, any one had made me such predictions, I should have answered,

answered, The accomplishment of this strange prognostication must certainly kill one with mere astonishment. The whole of it was actually accomplished; I felt some surprize in the first moments; but, in hoping for joy, I found myself entirely mistaken.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

A philosopher might possibly believe this; but the public will with great difficulty be brought to believe you were dissatisfied; and should they really think so, they would certainly blame you for it.

Madam MAINTENON.

The world must then be as much in the wrong as I was. This world of ours in a vast amphitheatre, where every one is placed on his bench by mere chance. They imagine the supreme degree of felicity to be on the uppermost benches. What an egregious mistake!

Mademoiselle l'ENCLOS.

I take this mistake to be necessary to human nature: they would never give themselves any trouble about getting higher, were they not led by an opinion, that happiness is placed above them. Both of us are acquainted with pleasures infinitely less deceiving or fanciful: but, for Heaven's sake, how did you contrive to be so exceeding wretched on your exalted seat?

Madame MAINTENON.

Alas! my dear Ninon! from the time I left off calling you any thing but Mademoiselle de l'Enclos, I from that moment began to be less happy. It was decreed I must be a prude. This is telling all in one word. My heart is empty; my mind under restraint; I make the first figure
in

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in France; but it is really no more than a figure, a shadow! I live only a kind of borrowed life. Ah! did you but know what a burden it must be to a drooping soul, to animate another soul, or to amuse a mind no longer capable of amusement *!

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I easily guess the uneasiness of your situation. I fear insulting you, should I mention the reflection that Ninon is happier at Paris, in her little house, with the abbé de Chateauneuf, and some friends, than you at Versailles in the company of the most respectable personage in all Europe, who lays all his power at your feet. I am afraid to shew you the superiority of my situation: I know it is wrong to discover too sensible a relish of your felicity in the presence of the unhappy. Endeavour, madam, to bear the load of your grandeur with patience; try to forget that delightful obscurity in which we formerly lived together, in the same manner you have been obliged to forget your ancient friends. The sole remedy in your painful state, is to avoid reflection as much as possible, crying out with the poet,

*Félicité passée,
Qui ne peut revenir,
Tourment de ma pensée,
Que n'ai-je en te perdant, perdu le souvenir!*

Tormenting thoughts of former happiness, gone, never to return! Why, when I was bereft of the joy, did I not lose the remembrance of it also!

* These are madam Maintenon's own words, *Amuser un esprit qui n'est plus amusable!*

Drink

Drink of the river Lethe, and above all comfort yourself with having before your eyes so many royal dames, whose time lies as heavy upon their hands as yours can do.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, my dear! what felicity can one find in being alone? I would fain make a proposal to you, but I am afraid to open myself.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Indeed, madam, to be plain with you, you have reason to be a little mistrustful; but take courage.

Madam MAINTENON.

I mean that you will barter, at least in appearance, your philosophy for prudery, and then you will become a truly respectable woman. You shall live with me at Versailles, you shall be more my friend than ever, and help me to support my present condition.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I still have a great affection for you, madam, but I must freely own to you, I love myself still better; and can never consent to turn hypocrite, and render myself miserable for ever, because fortune has treated you scurvily.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, cruel Ninon! you have a heart more hard than even the very courtiers themselves. Can you then abandon me without the least remorse?

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

By no means: I am still but too sensible. You really melt me; and, to convince you I have the same regard for you as ever, I now make you the last offer in my power; quit
Ver-

Verfailles, and come and live with me at the Rues des Tournelles.

Madam MAINTENON.

You pierce my very heart. I cannot be happy near the throne, nor can I enjoy pleasure in a retired life. This is one of the fatal effects of living in a court.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

There is no remedy for an incurable disorder. I shall take the opinion of the philosophers who frequent my house concerning your malady; but I cannot promise you they will effect impossibilities.

Madam MAINTENON.

Good heavens! what a cruel situation! to behold myself on the very pinnacle of greatness, to be worshipped as a deity, and yet not to be able to taste of happiness!

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Hold, my dear friend, I fancy there is some mistake in this; you believe yourself unhappy merely on account of your greatness: but may not the misfortune proceed from another cause, that your eyes have no longer the same lustre, your appetite no longer so good, nor your relish for pleasures so lively as heretofore? You have lost your youth, beauty, and feelings; this, this, is your real misfortune. This is the reason why so many women turn devotees at fifty, and so fly from one chagrin into the arms of another.

Madam MAINTENON.

But, after all, you have more years over your head than I have, and you are neither unhappy nor a devotee.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Let us understand each other. We ought not to imagine that at your age and mine we can enjoy complete happiness. It requires a soul glowing with the most exquisite sensations, and the five senses in their highest perfection, to taste this kind of felicity. But with a few friends, a little philosophy, and liberty, one may be as much at one's ease, as this age will admit of. The mind is never unhappy but when out of its sphere, So e'en take my advice, and come and live with me, and my philosophical friends.

Madam MAINTENON.

I see two ministers of state coming this way. They are very different company from philosophers; so fare you well, my dear Ninon.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Adieu, illustrious unfortunate.

D I A L O G U E
BETWEEN
A PHILOSOPHER
AND A
COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE FINANCES.

PHILOSOPHER.

DO you know that a minister of the finances is capable of doing a great deal of good, and consequently of being a much greater man than a marshal of France?

MINISTER.

I would readily believe that a philosopher would endeavour to soften the accusation of hard-heartedness, with which the public generally load those in my office; but I could never have believed that he would have endeavoured to inspire me with vanity.

PHILOSOPHER.

Vanity is far from being such a vice as you may suppose it. Had not Lewis XIV. had a tincture of it, his reign would never have been so illustrious as it was. The great Colbert was not without his share of it; be it your's to surpass him. You are born in an age more favourable to this passion than his; and it is the business of every one to raise his views according to the times he lives in.

MINISTER.

I will allow that those who cultivate a fruitful

ful soil have greatly the advantage over those who first broke the land.

PHILOSOPHER.

Be persuaded that there is nothing so useful but you may easily accomplish. When Colbert came to the administration, he found, on one hand, the finances in all that disorder which must have been the inevitable consequences of a civil war, and thirty years of rapine and licentiousness. On the other, he found the nation fickle, ignorant, and enslaved to prejudices of thirteen hundred years standing. There was not a man at the council-board who knew what was meant by exchange, or had the least idea of trade, or the proportion between different species of coin. At present our knowledge is improved by mutual communication. The populace indeed still remain in the very depth of ignorance, or employed in the task of getting their daily subsistence; and I will venture to affirm that it is the business of the government to keep them in this condition. But the middling rank of people, which is very considerable, are become enlightened; they govern the great, who sometimes think, and the small, who never think at all. The same thing has happened in relation to the finances, since the time of the famous Colbert, as has happened in music since that of Lulli. This great master could hardly meet with a person to play one of his symphonies, simple as they were. At present, the number of artists, capable of executing the most difficult pieces of music, have increased in proportion as the art itself has improved. It is the same with philosophy, and the ministerial office.

L

Colbert

Colbert did greater things than the duke of Sully, and you must do greater than Colbert.

At these words, the minister perceiving that the philosopher had a bundle of papers in his hand, desired to see them. They contained a collection of hints capable of furnishing some very useful reflections. The minister took them, and read as follows.

The wealth of a state consists in the number of its inhabitants and their labour.

Commerce serves to render one state more powerful than another, because in a certain number of years it has necessarily a war with its neighbours; as in like manner as in a certain number of years, there is always some public calamity. Then, in the calamity of war, the richer nation, *cæteris paribus*, necessarily gains an advantage over the others, because it can purchase the assistance of a greater number of allies, and foreign troops. Without the calamity of war, the augmentation of the mass of gold and silver would be useless: for provided there was sufficient of those metals for the purposes of circulation; and that the balance of trade was only equal, it is clear we should not be in want of any thing.

Supposing there are two milliards* in a nation. Then the price of all commodities and labour would be double of what they would be, if there was only one milliard. I am as rich with a yearly income of 50,000 livres, if I can buy a pound of meat for four sous, as with an

* A milliard is two thousand millions; but by this is meant so many millions of French livres, 24 of which go to our English pound sterling,

100,000, if the same quantity of meat will cost me eight sous, and so of the rest in proportion. The real wealth of a kingdom then consists, not in gold and silver, but in the plenty of all kinds of commodities, in industry, and in labour. It is not long since there was a Spanish regiment on the borders of the river la Plata, where the officers had all hilts of massy gold to their swords, and not a shirt to their backs, nor a morsel of bread to put in their mouths.

I will suppose that since the time of Hugh Capet, the quantity of money in the kingdom has not been increased; but that industry has been augmented to one in all arts. I maintain then that we are in reality an hundred times richer than we were in the time of Hugh Capet, for enjoyment makes riches. Now, I am possessed of an house, which is more airy, better built, and more completely laid out, than any in the time in which Hugh Capet lived. We have attained to a greater perfection in cultivating the vine, so that I drink better wine. The woollen manufactories is greatly improved, so that I wear better and finer cloth. The art of flattering the taste by the most delicate cookery, indulges me every day with more delicious fare than is to be met with at any royal banquet of Hugh Capet. If he was ill, and wanted to move from one house to another, it must be in a kind of cart or waggon; whereas I can roll at my ease in a convenient and pleasant vehicle, where I enjoy all the advantages of light, without being exposed to the inclemency of the weather. There certainly wanted no greater quantity of money

in the kingdom in order to suspend on leathern braces, a machine of painted wood: it required only industry, and this holds equally good in relation to all other things of this nature. The same quarries furnished stones to build houses with, in the time of Hugh Capet, as they do now, and there requires no more money to build a miserable dungeon, than to construct a pleasant and commodious dwelling-house. The same expence will plant a well contrived garden, which is required to cut ridiculous and grotesque figures, in an absurd imitation of different animals. Oaks were suffered formerly to rot in the forests; now they are cut into a variety of forms, that serve at once for use and ornament. Sand lay formerly in useless heaps on the surface of the earth, now it is applied to the purpose of making glass.

Now he, who enjoys all these advantages, is certainly rich. Industry has put us in possession of them; therefore it is not money that constitutes the riches of a kingdom, but ingenuity, that kind of it I mean that directs us in our labour.

Commerce produces the same effects with labour; it contributes to render life more agreeable. If I stand in need of any manufacture of the East Indies, or of a production of nature, which is to be found only at Ceylon or Ternate, I am poor while in want of these; but I become rich, when these my wants are satisfied by the means of commerce: I was not in want of gold or silver, but of coffee and cinnamon. But those, who at the hazard of their lives, go upwards of six thousand leagues to supply me with coffee for my breakfast in a morning,
are

are no more than the supernumerary labourers of the nation. The wealth of a kingdom, then, consists in the great number of labouring people.

Population and labour then are undoubtedly the true objects of attention in every wise government.

In our climates, the number of males born is greater than that of females, consequently we ought not to destroy our females. Now it is evident, we destroy them in respect to society, by burying them alive in convents, where they are totally lost to the present generation, and extinguished to future. The money sunk in endowing convents would therefore be much better employed in encouraging matrimony. I cannot but compare the young females, who are suffered to wither and decay in our convents to the waste lands which we have still in France. They both stand alike in need of cultivation. There are several ways of obliging husbandmen to improve waste and neglected lands ; but there is one infallible way of injuring a state, which is to suffer the continuance of two abuses, namely, that of immuring young women, and leaving the land to be over run with weeds. Barrenness of every kind is either a vice in nature, or violation of her laws.

The king, who is the nation's steward, gives pensions to the court ladies, in which he does right ; for this money is circulated amongst different kind of trades-people, but how comes it there are no pensions allotted for the encouragement of agriculture? This money

would in like manner return into the kingdom again, and with still greater profit.

The tolerating beggars is an acknowledged defect in a government. There are two sorts of these, such who go on crutches from one end of the kingdom to the other, and, as it were, force money from all passers by, by their importunities and lamentable complaints, which they spend afterwards in drinking-houses: the other sort are those, who clad in a particular dress, go from house to house, and lay the people under a religious contribution, in God's name, and then return, when the business of the day is over, to indulge themselves in their own houses, or at the tables of the great, where they live in ease and luxury. The first of these is less pernicious than the other, because they frequently furnish children to the state, and though some of these may chance to turn out thieves, yet there are many of them, also, who, in time, make excellent masons and soldiers. But they are both of them evils, of which every one complains, and yet no one is at the trouble of endeavouring to remove them. It is very surprising, that in a kingdom, which has so many waste lands and colonies, a set of people should be suffered, who neither labour, nor contribute to population. Whence comes it, that there have been nations, who, though not possessed of near the quantity of gold and silver that we are, have notwithstanding immortalized their memory by labours that we dare not imitate? It is plain that their government was better than ours, inasmuch as it gave encouragement to a greater number of labouring people.

Taxes

Taxes are necessary. The best manner of raising them, is that which most facilitates labour and commerce. Every arbitrary tax is an error. Nothing but alms can be arbitrary; but, in a well policied state, there should not be room left for alms-giving. The great Scha Abbas, who made so many useful establishments in Persia, did not found one hospital. Being asked the reason, he replied, "Because I intend there shall be no need of hospitals in my kingdom."

But what is a tax? It is a certain proportion of corn, cattle, or commodities, that the possessors of lands owe to those that have none. Money is only the type or representative of those commodities. Taxes then in reality are raised upon the rich only, for you cannot demand of a poor man a part of the bread he earns by the sweat of his brow; nor the milk, with which his wife nourishes his children at her breast. It is therefore not the poor, nor their labour, that ought to be taxed, but we should, whilst we find them employment, give them wages, that they may one day be happy enough to be able to pay taxes.

In time of war, I suppose the nation pays fifty millions extraordinary yearly; of these fifty millions, twenty are carried out of the kingdom, and the remaining thirty employed in butchering mankind. I will suppose that in time of peace, five and twenty of these millions are paid off, and that none of this is carried abroad, and that as many people are employed in labouring for the good of the public, as were knocked on the head in fighting its battles. Works of all kinds are multiplied, the fields are

cultivated, and cities embellished; hence the people really grow rich by what they pay to the government. During the calamities of war, taxes are not intended to procure us the conveniencies of life, but to defend us in our possessions. The happiest people then are necessarily those who pay the most; and these are incontestably such who are the most laborious, and the most wealthy.

Paper-money is, with respect to specie, what that is to commodities; a representation, a pledge of barter. Money is of no farther use than as it is more convenient to give a piece of gold or silver for a commodity than four or five pair of stockings. In like manner, it is more easy for the receiver of a province to remit two or three thousand pounds to the exchequer in a letter, than to send it, at a great expence, by carriage; this shews the utility of banks and paper-money. Paper-money is in a government, in commerce, and in circulation, what cranes are in a quarry; they serve to raise weights, which a number of men could not stir by the strength of their arms. A Scotchman, who was, at the same time, a very useful and dangerous person in a state, was the first who established paper-credit in France; he was like a physician, who gives his sick patient a too powerful emetic, which causes violent convulsions and disorders; but because a good medicine is given in an over-dose, is that a reason to reject it altogether? From the ruins of his system, we have still remaining an India company, which gives jealousy to other nations, and may establish the greatness of our own; therefore this system, if confined within proper limits, would have been productive

productive of more good, than it has caused evil.

The altering the value of the coin is making counterfeit money. The circulating a greater quantity of paper-money, than the stock and circulation of specie and commodities, can answer, another way of making false money.

The prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver is another remnant of barbarism and indigence; it is at once refusing to pay one's debts, and destroying trade; it is refusing to pay, because if the nation is debtor she must most certainly settle the balance with her foreign creditor. It is destroying trade, because gold and silver are not only the price of merchandize, but merchandize themselves; the Spaniard has, like other nations, preserved this ancient law, which is only an ancient folly. The whole resource of a state is the constant violation of this law.

To load the commodities of one's own country with the payment of taxes, for going from one province to another; to make Champagne an enemy to Burgundy, and Guienne to Brittany, is another abuse equally shameful and ridiculous. It is the same as if I was to post some of my servants on the stair-case to stop and eat part of my dinner, as it comes to my table. Endeavours have been used to correct this error; but, to the shame of human understanding, we have not as yet been able to succeed.

There were several other hints among the philosopher's papers, which the minister greatly approved; and this was the first time that the notes of a philosopher were ever seen in the pocket-book of a minister of state.

A
D I A L O G U E
B E T W E E N
M A R C U S A U R E L I U S
A N D A
R E C O L L E T F R I A R .

MARCUS AURELIUS.

NOW I think I begin to know whereabouts I am. That's certainly the Capitol, and that Basilica the temple. The person I behold there is undoubtedly the priest of Jupiter. Hark ye, friend ; one word with you, if you please.

FRIAR.

Friend ! very familiar, truly : you must certainly be a stranger in Rome, to accost in this manner brother Fulgentius the recollet, an inhabitant of the Capitol, confessor to the duchess de Popoli, and who speaks sometimes to the pope, with as much familiarity as if he were a mere mortal.

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Brother Fulgentius in the Capitol! Matters are somewhat changed indeed. I don't understand one word you say. Is there no such place here as the temple of Jupiter?

FRIAR.

Get you gone about your business, honest friend; you seem to be out of your senses. Who are you, prithee, with your antique dress and your Jew's beard? Whence come you, and what do you want here?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

This is my ordinary apparel: I am come back to see Rome once more. My name is Marcus Aurelius.

FRIAR.

Marcus Aurelius! I think I remember to have heard of such a name. If I don't mistake, there was a Pagan emperor so called.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I am he. I longed to have another view of that Rome which I loved, and which was so fond of me; that Capitol in which I triumphed by my contempt of triumph; that land I formerly rendered so happy: but now I can hardly think it to be the same place. I have been to see the column that was erected to my honour, and have not been able to find the statue of the sage Antonine, my father. The face is quite altered from what it was.

FRIAR.

So it ought, Mr. Damned Soul. Sixtus the Fifth erected that column; but then he put on

it a better man than you and your father to boot.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I was always of opinion it was no difficult matter to excel me; but I thought it no such easy affair to surpass my father. Perhaps my piety towards him has imposed upon my judgment. All men are liable to error. But why give me the epithet of Damned Soul?

FRIAR.

Because so you are. Was it not you (let me see, I don't mistake) that so often persecuted a set of folks, to whom you lay under very great obligations, and who procured you a shower of rain which enabled you to thrash your enemies?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Alas! I was very far from persecuting any one. I thank Heaven, by a very happy conjuncture, a storm happened, just in the nick of time, to save my troops, who were dying of thirst; but I never heard before that I owed the favour of this tempest to the folks you mention, though, to tell you the truth, they were very good soldiers. I assure you, in the most solemn manner, I am not damned: I have done too much good to mankind, that the Divine Being should do me any evil. But, prithee tell me, where is the palace of the emperor my successor? Is it still on the Palatine hill? For really I hardly know my own country again.

FRIAR.

I believe it, truly, we have so improved every

every thing. If you please, I will carry you to Monte Cavallo : you shall have the honour to kiss the great toe of St. Peter ; and you will, besides, receive a handsome present of indulgences, which, in my humble opinion, will be very seasonable ; for I do not doubt you stand in great need of them.

MARCUS AUREIUS.

First of all, I desire you would grant me your own ; and tell me ingenuously, is there an end of the emperors and empire of Rome ?

FRIAR.

No, no, by no means ; there is still an empire and an emperor ; but then he keeps his court at the distance of about four hundred leagues from hence, at a small city called Vienna, on the Danube. My advice is, that you go there to pay a visit to your successors ; because here you stand a great chance to visit the inquisition. I warn you that the reverend Dominican fathers are not at all disposed to jest in such matters, and that your Marcus Aurelius's, your Antonines, your Trajans, and your Titus's, and such gentry as cannot say their catechism, are treated by them after a very scurvy manner.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

The catechism ! the inquisition ! Dominicans ! Recollets ! a pope and cardinals ! and the Roman empire in a little city on the Danube ! I could never have dreamt of such things ; tho', I will allow, that in sixteen hundred years things will change strangely in this world of our's.

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our's. I could like, methinks, to see one of these Roman emperors, Marcoman, Quadus, Cimber, and Teuto.

FRIAR.

You shall not want that pleasure when you please, and a greater than that still. You would, in all likelihood, be surprised, were I to tell you that the Scythians hold one half of your empire, and we the other: that the sovereign of Rome is a priest like me: that brother Fulgentius may be that sovereign in his turn: that I shall disperse indulgences on the very spot where you were wont to be drawn in your car by vanquished sovereigns: and, lastly, that your successor on the Danube has not a city he can call his own; but that there is a certain priest that lets him have the use of his capital, when he has occasion for it.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

You tell me strange news, indeed. All these great changes could never have happened without great misfortunes. I own I still love the human race, and am heartily sorry for them.

FRIAR.

You are too good. These revolutions have really cost a deluge of blood, and an hundred provinces have been ravaged; but had it not been so, your servant, brother Fulgentius, had never slept at his ease in the Capitol.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Rome, that metropolis of the universe, is then most miserably fallen.

FRIAR.

FRIAR.

Fallen, I grant you; but as for miserably, there I must say you nay: on the contrary, peace and the fine arts flourish here eternally. The ancient masters of the world are now become music-masters. Instead of sending colonies into England, we now send them eunuchs and fiddlers. We have, it is true, none of your Scipios now, those destroyers of Carthage; but then we have none of your proscriptions neither. We have bartered glory for tranquility.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I tried what I could to become a philosopher in my life-time, but now I am sure I have become one indeed. I find tranquility is at the least an equivalent for glory; but, by what you tell me, I should be apt to suspect brother Fulgentius is no adept in philosophy.

FRIAR.

What do you mean? Not a philosopher! I am one with a vengeance. I once taught philosophy; nay, better still, I read lectures in theology.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And pray, what may this theology of yours be, an't please you?

FRIAR.

Why, it is—it is that which has made me be here, and the emperor elsewhere. You seem to grudge me the honour I enjoy, and are out of humour at the trifling revolution that has happened to your empire.

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I adore the eternal decrees of Providence: I know man ought not to repine at fate: I admire the vicissitude of human affairs; but since every thing is so liable to change, and since the Roman empire has experienced this wonderful mutability, let me hope the recollets may also experience it in their turn.

FRIAR.

I declare you anathematized: but hold, now I think on it, it is time to go to matins.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And I will go and be reunited to the Being of Beings.

DIALOGUE

D I A L O G U E
 BETWEEN
 A BRACHMAN and a JESUIT,
 ON
 NECESSITY and FREEWILL,
 AND THE
 GENERAL CONCATENATION
 OF
 CAUSES and EFFECTS.

JESUIT.

IN all probability, you are indebted to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier for that long and happy life you have enjoyed an hundred and fourscore years ! Why, it is a life-time for a patriarch.

BRACHMAN.

My master Fonfouca lived till three hundred : it is the ordinary course of life among us Brachmans. I have a very great regard for Francis Xavier ; but all his prayers would never have put nature out of her destined order : had he really been able to prolong the life of a gnat but for one single instant beyond what the general contatenation of causes and events allows of, this globe of our's had worn a quite different ap-

appearance from that in which you now behold it.

JESUIT.

You have a strange opinion of future contingents : why, you must be entirely ignorant that man is free, and that our free-will disposes of every thing in this sublunary world at its mere fancy and pleasure. I can assure you the Jesuits alone have contributed not a little to some very considerable revolutions.

BRACHMAN.

I have no manner of question in regard to the learning and power of the reverend fathers the Jesuits : they are a very valuable part of human society ; yet I cannot by any means believe them the sovereign arbiters of human transactions : every single person, every single being, whether Jesuit or Brachman, is one of the springs which act in the general movement of the universe ; in which he is the slave, and not the master of destiny. Pray, to what cause do you think Gengis-kan owed the conquest of Asia ? To the very moment in which his father one day happened to awake as he was in bed with his wife ; to a word which a Tartar chanced to let fall some years before. I, for example, the very person you behold, am one of the chief causes of the deplorable death of Henry IV. for which you may see I am still much afflicted.

JESUIT.

Your reverence is pleased to be very merry upon the matter ? You the cause of the death of Henry IV !

BRACH-

BRACHMAN.

Alas ! it is too true. This happened in the nine hundred eighty-three thousandth year of the revolution of Saturn, which makes the fifteen hundred and fiftieth of your æra. I was then young and giddy headed. I thought proper, upon a time, to take a walk, which I began with moving my left foot first, on the coast of Malabar, from whence most evidently followed the death of Henry IV.

JESUIT.

How so, prithee ? For, as to our society, who were accused with having had a large share in that affair, we had not the least knowledge of it.

BRACHMAN.

I'll tell ye how fate thought proper to order the matter. By moving my left foot, as I told you, I unluckily tumbled my friend Eriban, the Persian merchant, into the water, and he was drowned. My friend, it seems, had a very handsome wife, that ran away with an Armenian merchant : this lady had a daughter, who married a Greek ; the daughter of this Greek settled in France, and married the father of Ravailac. Now, had not every tittle of this happened exactly as it did, you are very sensible the affairs of the house of France and Austria would have turned out in a very different manner. The system of Europe would have been entirely changed. The wars between Turkey and the German empire would have had quite another issue ; which issue would have had an effect on Persia, as well as Persia on the East-Indies ; so you see it is plain to a demonstration,

stration, that the whole depended on my left foot, which was connected with all the other events of the universe, past, present, and to come.

JESUIT.

I must have this affair laid before some of our fathers, who are theologians.

BRACHMAN.

In the mean time, I will tell you, father, that the maid-servant of the grand father of the founder of the *Feuillants* (for you must know I have dipped into your histories) was likewise one principal cause of the death of Henry IV. and of all the accidents which it produced.

JESUIT.

This servant-maid must then have been a domineering quean!

BRACHMAN.

Oh fye! no such thing. She was a mere idiot, by whom her master had a child. Madame de la Barriere, poor soul, died of grief at it. She who succeeded her was, as your chronicles tell, the grandmother of the blessed John de la Barriere, who founded the order of *Feuillants*. Ravaillac was a monk of this order. With them he sucked in a certain doctrine very fashionable in those days, as you well enough know. This doctrine taught him to believe that the most meritorious thing he could possibly do, was to assassinate the best king in the whole world. What followed is known to every body.

JESUIT.

In spite of your left foot, and the wench of the grandfather of the founder of the *Feuillants*,
I shall

I shall ever be of opinion that the horrible action committed by Ravaiillac was a future contingent, which might very well not have happened: for, after all, man is certainly a free agent.

BRACHMAN.

I do not know what you mean by a free agent. I can affix no certain idea to these words. To be free, is to do whatever we think proper, and not to will whatever we please. All I know of the matter is, that Ravaiillac voluntarily committed the crime, of which he was destined by fate to be the instrument. This crime was no more than a link of the great chain of destiny.

JESUIT.

You may say what you will, but the affairs of this world are far from having any such dependence as you are pleased to think. What signifies, for example, this useless conversation of ours, here on the shores of the East-Indies.

BRACHMAN.

What you and I say in conversation is doubtless sufficiently insignificant; but, for all that, were you not here, the machine of the universe would be extremely changed from what it is.

JESUIT.

There your Brachmannish reverence is pleased to advance a huge paradox truly.

BRACHMAN.

Your Ignatian fathership may believe me or no, as you like it. But assuredly, we should
never

never had this conversation together, had you not come into the East-Indies. You had never made this voyage, had not your St. Ignatius de Loyola been wounded at the siege of Pampelona, or had not the king of Portugal persisted in discovering the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. Now, prithee, did not the king of Portugal, with the help of the compass, entirely change the face of this world of ours? But it was first of all necessary that a certain Neapolitan should make this discovery of the compass; now tell me, if you have the face, that every thing is not wholly subservient to one constant and uniform tenour of action; which by indissoluble, but invisible, concatenation, unites all that lives, or acts, or dies, or suffers on the surface of our globe?

JESUIT.

What then would become of our future contingents?

BRACHMAN.

What care I what become of them? but yet the order established by the hand of an eternal and almighty God must certainly subsist for ever.

JESUIT.

Were one to listen to you, we ought not to pray to God at all.

BRACHMAN.

It is our duty to adore him. But pray what mean ye by praying to God?

JESUIT.

What all the world means by it, to be sure,
that

that he would grant our petitions, and favour us in all our wants.

BRACHMAN,

I understand you. You mean, that a gardiner might obtain clear sunshine weather, at a time which God has ordained from all eternity to produce rains ; and that a pilot should have an easterly wind, when an easterly wind ought to refresh the earth, as well as the seas ? My good father, to pray as we ought is to submit one's self wholly to providence. So good evening to you. Destiny requires I should now visit my Brachminess.

JESUIT.

And my free-will urges me to give a lesson to a young scholar.

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